POLITICAL RESEARCH: ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

PROD

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1. IN THE NEWS

The Ford F. will give a million dollars shortly to colleges of central and southern Africa as the start of a new program.***Prof. Wallace Sayre of Columbia will extend his already considerable metropolitan research responsibilities by heading a 7-man committee to study the need for a new metropolitan government in the 22-county greater N. Y. area.***The Center for Advanced Study (Palo Alto, California) announced 49 fellows for the current academic year. Fields represented are anthropology (10); psychology (9), incl. Charles Osgood, U. of Ill.; sociology (6), incl. Edward Shils, U. of Chicago, Morris Janowitz, U. of Mich., and Daniel Bell, soon to be at Columbia; political science (4), incl. David Apter and Morton Grodzins, U. of Chicago, Harry Eckstein, Harvard, and Herbert Garfinkel, Dartmouth; history (4); economics, literature, law, psychiatry, linguistics, philosophy, biology (2 each); statistics, education (1 each).*** According to NSF, government agencies translate c. 60,000 pp. per year of Soviet scientific and technical journals; one economic journal, is translated, nothing else in social science.***Ford F. grants $50 M to U. of Miami for Dade County Metropolitan Gov't. study.***Cesare Barbieri Foundation gives $100 M to Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., for Center for Italian Studies.***Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research (PROD Jan.'58) describes in annual report programs in Communications and Opinion Formation, political sociology, organization sociology, among others.***Industry-supported Foundation for Research on Human Behavior (Ann Arbor) does research in psychology and economics, most recent publication Creativity and Conformity; also makes small grants ('small grants' in current foundation practice seem to be those under $10 M).*** Rockefeller F. gives $120 M to Harvard's new Center for International Studies for research expenses for 1st 3 yrs.***Federal "Aid to Education" bill as passed authorized $900 million for 4-yr. program, incl. $295 million for student loans, preference to prospective teachers, esp. in science, math, engineering, modern languages; no mention of social science; also 5500 National Defense fellowships, preferably to prospective teachers.*** New non-profit organization in D. C.is Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, plans to study growth in region, seeking $500 M from foundations for 5 yrs.' operations.***Herbert Gans, U. of Penna. sociologist, conceives of a new publication along PROD lines, "Informal Sociology," and is currently seeking moral and material support for the unborn child.

2. Strengthening Technical Aid by Social Research

Proposals to measure technical aid achievements in part
by polling the knowledge and satisfactions of the rele-
vant peoples and their leaders. A world-wide, continu-
ous system is visualized.

1. The Problem

Foreign technical aid projects
seem sometimes to fall short of
their potential effectiveness.
Among the many reasons for this,
the following factors seem improv-
able by the evaluative project pro-
posed here.

a) Sometimes technical aid pro-
jects fail to meet the felt needs of
the population aided. Some projects
may be adopted too exclusively in
accordance with the interests of a
few key officials in the recipient
country, or else in accordance with
the aider's preconceptions of what is
best for those aided. Thus Afghanis-
tan asked for pavements in Kabul but
American I.C.A. officials thought ir-
rigation dams were better for them
and started such aid. Russia then
built the pavements and won greater
prestige for much less cost.

b) Sometimes the publicity attend-
ing and supporting technical aid pro-
jects fails to fit effectively into the
current nationalist temper and trend
of public opinion in the recipient
country. Thus one wonders whether
the United States would have fore-
closed the Aswan Dam project if it
had better gauged the strength of
Egypt's reaction that channeled
through Nasser and led to nationaliz-
ing the Suez Canal.

c) Sometimes a technical aid agen-
cy's appraisal of the effectiveness of
its projects (and consequent choice
of further projects) has not measured
their actual impact in satisfying the
people. There is apt to be too much
reliance on indices of effort made,
rather than on indices of achieve-
ment. Thus the tons of wheat sent to
India are an index of effort, while the

percents of the population knowing
about and feeling satisfied with such
wheat shipments are psychological
indices of the achievement or im-
pact on the people.

d) Sometimes technical aid offi-
cials have relied too exclusively on
judgments of impact, rather than
measurements of impact. The judg-
ments of impact may be made by gov-
ernment officials (who sometimes
serve an elite class or vested in-
terests), a few vocal nationals (who
may not be necessarily representa-
tive), and the foreign technical aid
officials (who cannot always be the
best experts on the culture and pub-
lic opinion of the recipient country).
Such judgments have been the best
criteria of impact that were avail-
able until the recent development of
comprehensive and representative
polling which uses attitude scales of
pretested reliability and validity.

e) Sometimes a technical aid agen-
cy has overweighted economic, polit-
ical, or military values to the neg-
lect of other institutional values such
as family life, religion, health, edu-
cation, recreation, mass media, art
or science. Thus Syria steadily re-
fused proferred U. S. economic or
military aid but encouraged the
American Near East Foundation, a
private agency, in projects working
for women's and children's welfare
in villages.

2. The Purposes

a) In view of the above weaknesses
in some technical aid programs, Pro-
ject Impact proposes polling tech-
niques to measure the felt needs of
the people, as one factor among oth-
ers, before adopting any project.
(The effectiveness of starting with

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what people want most is illustrated by the play, <u>Teahouse of the August Moon</u>, and the book, <u>A Bell for Adano</u>.)

b) It further proposes periodic polling by indigenous agencies to measure the actual <u>impact</u> of each completed technical aid project on the people in terms of public knowledge of it and satisfaction with it.

c) It proposes to poll each proposed or completed project in a nation in comparison with the appropriate <u>alternatives</u>, whether sponsored by that nation, any rival foreign powers, or by the U. N.

d) Project Impact proposes that the above indices of public opinion should supplement, and not displace, other <u>criteria</u> for evaluating technical aid projects. Such criteria include: 1) expert's evidence of financial costs and probable technical consequences, or 2) the official preference of the recipient government, or 3) the experience of responsible officers in the aiding agency, or 4) political considerations in maintaining some international equilibrium.

e) The project would provide techniques for explicitly rating the degree and relative importance of each of these five criteria (and any others) as applied to each project in turn. This would tend to develop gradually an international formula or set of weights in world practice for deciding upon the acceptance or rejection, the modification or continuance, of any project at issue.

3. The Procedures

One of the possible ways of developing this Project Impact might be for any foreign or international technical aid agency to negotiate with all interested governments to provide funds for the enlargement of the recipient government's statistical and census services for an adequate period ahead. This enlargement should specifically include a social surveys section much as in the British government. In these surveys a well-trained and supervised staff would interview a probability sample of the nation using pretested and standardized questionnaires at weekly or monthly intervals.

This polling agency would service the government by making authoritative and accurate measurements of the population's needs, behaviors, aspirations, knowledge, and feelings on any issues. The project is intended to augment whatever surveying is now done by periodic, comprehensive, and thorough-going polls of goals. The polls could gather antecedent data to guide pending legislation with the relevant facts. Polls could gauge the probable public reaction or use of proposed administrative actions. Polls could also help to evaluate proposed technical aid projects. The polls would also gather consequent data on the perceived results and degree of satisfactions with such legislative, executive, or technical aid actions. The issues polled could be nominated by the national government, by the foreign aid agency in consultation with that government, and perhaps in other ways such as by petition from political parties, designated quasi-public private organizations, popular petition, etc.

In most countries it might be well to package this polling service, whether organized within the government's statistical office or organized as a private indigenous surveying agency, under some distinctive name such as the "Egyptian Poll," "Sudan Surveys," "Pakistan Barometer," "Arab Audit," "Greek Demoscope," etc. Such a "handle" would help publicize this democracy-fostering agency and help to make its polls of popular needs and satisfactions a growing influence in the nation's life--as well as in guiding technical aid programs.

Project Impact should seek to set up each national poll so as to be free of foreign control and so as to maximize national trust in it. By an initial grant from the aiding agency for perhaps a five-year period, an indigenous polling agency could be readily established. Thus for example, in the Arab countries the International Statistical Education Center at Beirut could train personnel and organize polling services in any of the Arab countries. Its Director, Mr. Faiz

Khuri, was the author's able assistant in World War II in organizing the pioneer polls in Lebanon, Syria and Palestine. Similarly competent persons can be found or trained in most recipient countries.

Proper scientific safeguards on the competence and integrity of the polls could be set up. Thus an international Inspectorate of Polls has been proposed under auspices of UNESCO, or the UN Statistical Agency, or WAPOR (the World Association for Public Opinion Research which is the sole non-government Consultant Organization to UNESCO in this field). This Inspectorate could serve much as Chartered Accountants in responding to any client's request for checking and certifying to the public concerning the honesty and accuracy of its own polls.

With regular periodic polling in each recipient country, base-line situations, future goals, and degrees of fulfillment of them could all be measured with a precision that is far greater than under present methods of estimating. Furthermore, the impact of each project could, with research, be increasingly separated from other causal factors at large in the country.

The aim of each pre-evaluating poll would be to maximize the fit or agreement of the public's felt needs to the projects proposed in order to align public action closely with public goals. The aim of each post-evaluating poll would be to measure the agreement or disparity between goals and achievement, between what people want from a project beforehand and what they believe they got from it afterwards. The incidental measurement of popular information levels about any technical aid project could guide as to needed publicity to enhance its effectiveness.

Of course in addition to polling cross-sections of adult citizens, any special populations could be polled. For some questions and issues, polls might well sample the country's legislators, or officials, or relevant experts, or subclasses of the population most directly affected, or those informed on the issues, etc.

4. The Cost

For a trial period, covering the lifetime of any technical aid project, the aiding agency could finance the polling enlargements of the recipient nation's statistical or census bureaus by allocating perhaps one percent of the technical aid budget. Any technical aid agency spending many millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money, often in new and untried ways or situations, could well afford to devote one percent to evaluating the effectiveness of its other ninety-nine percent of expenditures. This would provide several million dollars for very adequate polling services in most technical aided countries.

5. The Consequences

The consequences that seem likely to flow from Project Impact may be listed in summary as:

a) Technical aid projects can be better fitted in the future to the felt needs of the people as well as to the official preferences of their representatives. This should tend to satisfy the population increasingly and win them away from blandishments unbacked by deeds.

b) Technical aid publicity can be better guided in the future by exact knowledge of the population's past and current degrees of information and of satisfaction with its projects and with comparable alternatives.

c) The aiding agency's evaluation of its projects can be better measured in the future by determining their actual impact on the target population and not merely the amount of effort made as has usually be done hitherto.

d) The aided countries will develop much better statistical services and consequent self-knowledge for guiding their progress in "catching up" to the more developed countries.

e) The polling agencies or national demoscopes developed in these aided countries would be parts of the projected international demoscope which

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is evolving under the name: Barometer of World Tensions. This is a comprehensive agency to poll periodically the tensions and aspirations, the acts and needs, the conditions, and whatever people can talk about, among an increasing proportion of the peoples of the earth. This Barometer is being promoted under the auspices of UNESCO and WAPOR. This Barometer is expected to become in time a powerful tool for world government in making it more responsive and responsible to the people everywhere. This Barometer could become the most powerful tool the social scientist possesses for basic behavioral research on humanity as a whole.

f) A by-product consequence of Project Impact should be to help develop world democracy. The very procedure of polling, consulting the individual opinions of all kinds of citizens, emphasizes the importance of the individual who is the final sovereign in an actual democracy. Polling helps to bring home to people, especially in the newer nations which lack long traditions of majority rule, just how the common people can control their government. Polling amplifies the voice of the people in the councils of government. It can help make governments everywhere increasingly government of, by and for the people.

g) A final consequence could be that by polling the value-systems or aspirations of people, this Project Impact could develop techniques of worldwide usefulness for furthering purposive social evolution. It could help man answer his ancient question, "Whither mankind?" by saying "Whither mankind aspires!"

--Stuart C. Dodd
Washington Public Opinion Laboratory
University of Washington

3. The Community Context in Political Newswriting

An important distinction exists between totalitarian and democratic news-handling. But the mass society causes both to simplify news and immerse it in a community myth. Content analysis must reach this myth-fact syndrome, while remaining quantitative.

In mass communication we are fed images at the expense of factual information. We can blame ourselves since, as a mass public, we represent too many interests, too specialized technical knowledge, or just pure ignorance and hence cannot be appealed to as experts on all the topics that call for our daily opinion. The role of "public images" in mass communication needs close and persistent study because of this heterogeneity of the public and because the democratic posture of modern politics justifies through "public images" what is done or not done in political and public life.

For instance, an interest in providing free medical services can be discussed in a factual way by a small circle of medical and economic experts. But as soon as the topic goes for debate before a mass medium, only a tiny fraction of the mass public is identical with the circle of experts. Before one can evoke in the mass a general interest in the facts, one has to call mass attention to some elementary common ideas that all members of the community are trained to regard as something good or to oppose as something bad. Usually, these community concepts have little connection with the technical side of the topic. And one soon finds that he is communicating a public image of Free Enterprise versus Socialism, at the expense of a factual evaluation of free medical services.

A university in Eastern Germany has carried the consequences of this principle of mass communication to their logical extreme. Its training of journalists consists principally in

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making them skilled in headline-writing and other conspicuous devices of producing a newspaper, at the sacrifice of factual content. The assumption is that the important public--the mass--scans the headline. Only a fraction of this mass cares to read the evaluative article that follows the headline; the article generally requires a more educated and interested public, which does not exist. After his training, the journalist is supposed to be able to sum up in a short, attractive headline not only the issue of the day--for instance, "Dulles travels to the Middle East"--but above all the news' place or significance in the ruling educational doctrine, the basic myth or ideology. Some news is to be communicated as a fact; but the light in which the event is published, the public image offered and consequently the potential mass response involved in and limited by that image, is to be carried directly with the fact. So, Dulles does not travel to the Middle East, in the East German headlines: "Dulles meddles in the Middle East." The connotation of a busybody puts Dulles into the appropriate negative concept, and reinforces the specific community myth's negative image of the United States as the intruder and potential aggressor. The fact of the travel and the myth of the meddler are inseparably joined.

This approach to news is not peculiar to the East Germans, though its extreme emphasis there is highly significant. Any journalist must be able to draw attention to a topic by putting the news in the light of his community myth, negatively or positively; it is by such means that he contacts the mass public. However, the totalitarian journalist works on the assumption that public opinion is strictly identical with the community myth and will write according to that fixed idea. The democratic journalist, on the contrary, assumes that ideological training is the basis of community education, that it limits response within specific boundaries, but that it does not make the response wholly identical with the myth. Thus the official opinion, suggested by the community myth, gets a public response modifying the ruling myth. Modifications are caused by the actual interests or by the ignorance of the public, and the unstable public reply becomes a fascinating challenge to guidance and persuasion. Experts on public opinion polls can often provide examples of these varied responses. But a close and persisting collaboration among content analysts would probably reveal even more of the nature of this process.

Let us return to the democratic journalist. He goes on with his assumption that he can release factual news to a small, educated, interested public. But since he also is a communicator to--and an educator of-- the mass public and he knows its varying qualities, he cannot hope that ignorance or disinterest will accept at once the factual economic or political significance of Dulles' travel if he merely states that Dulles travels to the Middle East. When he writes his headline he must, like the totalitarian journalist, rely on those basic concepts that community education has made the public attentive to under all circumstances; he must let the negative or positive qualities of these concepts, as for instance the basic American reaction to Communism, direct the presentation of the factual news. So, for example, in a Republican paper of America the headlines describe "Dulles on peace mission to the Middle East." However, since the democratic journalist is supposed to consider the varying interests behind his public's official opinion and attention, his writing of headlines necessarily turns out as a struggle among community concepts recommending different attitudes and shapes to the factual news. Also, his capacity as educator and his motive of reaching the largest public cause him to use the technique of the headlines again in the evaluative article that follows. There, too, community connotations are used to evoke public interest in the topic and raise the level of knowledge.

It is clear that this situation makes mere topical analysis--how much space

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is devoted to particular topics in a paper and to what topics--a poor record of the process of mass communication. The result is only a table of topics of interest in a specific community.

The daily newspaper functions by continuous repetition. Whatever is repeated frequently becomes important and familiar to the public mind. It is evident that the same topic is not repeated daily forever. It is the communication of topics that is repeated and that therefore dominates the public image of news and that subsequently helps form public opinion and ultimately provides replies to our questions about what happens to the factual news. This communication is mirrored in the journalist's use of community symbols when he turns his light on the daily news. And how much one aspect of the headline (or article!) takes the upper hand over the other, how many and what kind of community symbols are used to make the news digestible by the public, and how concepts stand for the technical side of the news--all this determines in the long run the character of the newspaper and its policy.

The methods of press analysis are the mirror of this art of mass com-munication. Quantitative analysis should be based on the interpretation of symbols standing for community concepts and of symbols standing for the fact itself. Quantitative analysis is needed since the slant or the policy of the mass communication is built up by the quantity of symbols. The emotional language and the vocabulary or jargon that are the result of the communicator's use of community concepts can also be recorded by such analysis. Unfortunately, no translation machine can help us to interpret this emotional language which Vigotsky termed the "inner speech" of various languages, this particular national or international vocabulary that twists the dictionary meaning of a language but opens a world of understanding and common experience to the initiated and leads the novice slowly into a new opinion often without his knowing it.

So the content analyst whom I am looking forward to must outwit the communicator! I am not advocating a new school of thought: I just say, Watch the communicator before all else.

--Karin Dovring
International University of Social
Studies
"Pro Deo"
Rome, Italy

4. Validity of Records in the South Seas

In the isles of the Pacific tropics the informal approach to living is paralleled by an equally informal approach to the matters of government and government reports.

The Felix Keesings, in their recent book, Elite Communication in Samoa, refer to the paucity of statistics available for research use in this island group (p. 297). Recent field inquiries spanning the Pacific from Hawaii north to Fiji south, and west to Guam and the Trust Territory, suggest that even the available published records of governments in these Pacific islands should be approached with considerable skepticism, especially if they are to be employed as the raw material for behavioral studies.

Studies of ethnic composition must cope with the Hawaiian government's practice of classifying everyone with Hawaiian blood as "Hawaiian," while failing to follow suit for Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and other ethnic groups. In Western Samoa the category of "European" electors includes Chinese, and in Fiji there are two sets of definitions of "Indian" and

"Fijian": one for census purposes and one for electoral purposes.

Those doing research on legislative turnover in the Marshallese Congress have made the disturbing discovery that legislative records are apt to vary the spelling of a member's name during each session he attends. In Samoa the same name appearing in consecutive sessions may well refer to different people, as the matai title can have passed in the legislative interim.

Startling innovations appear in the legislative process itself. American legislative enactments are normally treated as matters of undisputed validity--or at least U.S. courts frown upon collateral attack.

The practice of the Palau Congress in the Trust Territory, however, is to draft the measure after it is enacted, before sending it to the High Commissioner. Island legislative bodies blithely interchange such designations as "bill," "concurrent resolution," etc., with no discernable variation in content or practice. The results are not surprising: the legislative journals in more than one of the island groups surveyed contain accounts not of the actual action taken but of what the legislative clerks believe would please the administrators and commissioners of the metropolitan governments.

--Norman Meller
University of Hawaii

5. The "Political Behavior" Approach

Excerpts from an address on "Political Science and the Secondary Schools," in which the author, disagreeing with a PROD editorial, says that political behavior is a certain approach to political science and proceeds to describe its nature and limits.

Political behavior is at once an approach and a challenge, an orientation and a reform movement, a type of research and a rallying cry, a "hurrah" term and a "boo" term. In fact, a great deal of ambiguity surrounds the term "political behavior." It is general enough to comprehend a variety of people, propensities, and activities; ambiguous enough that its proponents and representatives disagree about its definition; and specific enough to inspire articulate opposition from some proponents of "traditional" political science. If one looks at a volume like the recently published "reader" in Political Behavior[1] or sits in panel discussions of political behavior at the annual meetings of our Association, it is obvious that

several different, and even contradictory, sets of assumptions, methods, techniques, and data currently share the name political behavior. One gets the impression that the term serves as a sort of umbrella, large enough that all those dissatisfied with "traditional" political science may huddle under it briefly, but that the apparent unity will disappear when the shower has passed, and that the people who once shared the common shelter may well move off in quite different directions. To examine the range and diversity of tendency and orientation would take us far afield. We may note, however, that the editor of a journal of behavioral orientation recently defined "political behavior" as "political science as some of us would like it to be,"[2] and suggested that use of the term be abandoned entirely on grounds that it is both ambiguous and divisive. Without denying

1. Eulau, H., S. Eldersveld, M. Janowitz, Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956).

2. PROD, I (#6, July, 1958), p. 42.

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its ambiguity and divisiveness, I think that the term is sufficiently definite and its referents sufficiently constant, that it is possible to identify the cluster of assumptions, procedures, techniques, and goals that characterize this approach to the study of political science.

The orientation to the study of political science normally suggested by the term political behavior, 1) rejects political institutions as the basic unit for research, and identifies the behavior of individuals in political situations as the basic unit of analysis, 2) identifies the "social sciences" as "behavioral sciences," and emphasizes the unity of political science with the social sciences, so defined, 3) advocates the utilization and development of more precise techniques for observing, classifying and measuring data, and urges the use of statistical or quantitative formulations wherever possible, and 4) defines the construction of systematic, empirical theory as the goal of political science.

The term political behavior has had a short life, but the tendency has a long history. Its focus on the psychological aspect of political activity was advocated by Graham Wallas as early as 1908, when he attributed the "curiously unsatisfactory" condition of political science in his time to the persistence of an outdated, mistaken psychology, and commented that "nearly all students of politics analyze institutions and avoid the analysis of man."[3] In a book published in the same year, Arthur Bentley argued for concentration on the study of human behavior in various types of situations, and on functional relations and group processes as the proper focus of a science of politics. Urging that "measure conquers chaos," Bentley further asserted that "If a statement of social facts which lends itself better to measurement is offered, that characteristic entitles it to attention."[4] As early as 1923

a committee of The American Political Science Association, headed by Charles E. Merriam, reported that the fourth phase of political science, then beginning, was characterized by the psychological treatment of politics.[5] At the same time that Merriam, father of the influential "Chicago school" of political science, taught, advocated, and predicted greater attention to the psychological dimension of the political process, he served as purveyor and reporter of the other main tenets of the behavioral approach to politics. In 1921, in an article on "The Present State of the Study of Politics," he urged that more attention be given the methods and findings of sociology, social psychology, geography, ethnology, biology, and statistics, and his important book of 1925, New Aspects of Politics, proved him intellectual godfather of the behavioral approach by explicating and advocating all the characteristic goals, methods, procedures and emphases of political behavior. It is interesting to note that, in the above-mentioned committee report, Merriam listed a tendency toward quantification of data and findings as one of the ten most important trends in political science. Harold Lasswell, brilliant and precocious student of Merriam, whose prodigious work has been matched by prodigious influence, early emphasized and illustrated the use of psychological categories in the study of politics, the unity of the social sciences, and the utility and possibility of quantifying the data of political science.[6]

A somewhat less obvious, but important antecedent of the behavioral

Government: A Study of Social Pressures (Bloomington, Ind.: The Principia Press, 1949), pp. 200-201. It is interesting to note that a sociologist, E. A. Ross, wrote the first book bearing the title Social Psychology, in 1908, the same year that the Wallas and Bentley books first appeared.

3. Wallas, G., Human Nature in Politics (N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin, 3rd ed., 1915), pp. 1 and 14.
4. Bentley, A. F., The Process of

5. American Political Science Review, XVII (May, 1923), 286.
6. See, for example, Psychopathology and Politics (1930).

approach is the early work of George Catlin, who, like Lasswell, urged power relations as the core concern of a science of politics.[7]

The men I have mentioned thus far--Wallas, Bentley, Merriam, Lasswell--have undoubtedly had a more direct influence on contemporary political science than scholars in the neighboring social science disciplines. Also, all of them may be said to have influenced development of the social sciences broadly --the contribution of Lasswell to social psychology and anthropology are of fundamental importance in those fields. But, at the same time they fathered some of the recent developments in the social sciences generally, part of their influence on political science was to call attention to relevant developments in the other social sciences--particularly sociology, psychiatry, social psychology, and anthropology. You have already heard representatives of some of these disciplines in this seminar, and I am sure it must be obvious to you by now that the political behavior approach is part and parcel of a larger movement within the social sciences. It is the political dimension of what has been termed the "revolution in the behavioral sciences." The entire movement is a result of the impact of the natural sciences on the social sciences. It assumes qualitative continuity of knowledge between the natural and social sciences, its basic postulate being that the concepts and theory of the social sciences can and ought to be made identical with those of the natural sciences. In the words of Ernest Nagel, this means that "in its method of articulating its concepts and evaluating its evidence," the social sciences will be "continuous with the theories of the natural sciences."[8] The belief in qualitative continuity of knowledge and in a single, universally applicable scientific method prompted wholesale examination and adaptation by social scientists of the methods and techniques of the natural sciences. Many, if not most, of the specific techniques of political behavior were borrowed from the other social sciences which borrowed them from the natural sciences in the effort to be more "scientific," and in the hope that similar methods would lead to similar successes.

Where, you may ask, does the political behavior approach take us? What are the consequences of taking the individual as the basic unit for research and theory? What types of data that are relevant to the study of political institutions and situations permit quantification? Which of the categories and techniques of the social sciences are useful to political scientists? What are the consequences of increased theoretical emphasis?

Starting from the premise that "institutions and formalities such as constitutions and statutes...must always be conceived as persons behaving,"[9] research in political behavior has emphasized the attitudes and motivations of individuals in the effort to discover the effects of personality on behavior in political situations, and the effects of political situations --their structure, rules of procedure, etc.--on personality. Emphasis on the individual's attitudes, motivations, and perceptions has, of course, resulted in greatly increased use of interviews as a source of data, and the desire to employ statistical method "whenever and wherever possible"[10] has predisposed research workers in political behavior to prefer "fixed alternative" questionnaires over "open ended" schedules since the latter require an additional operation--

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7. Catlin, G. E. G., The Science and Method of Politics (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1927), and A Study of the Principals of Politics (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1930).
8. Nagel, E., "Problems of Concept and Theory Formation in the Social Sciences," Science, Language and Human Rights (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 63.
9. Truman, D. B., "The Implications of Political Behavior Research," Items, V (Dec., 1951), p. 38.
10. Eulau et al., op. cit., p. 3.

content analysis--for translating findings into statistical terms.

The greatly increased use of survey techniques and interviews as a source of data and a method of verification has turned the attention of many political scientists to problems of attitude measurement, scale construction, tests of validity and reliability, problems of "representativeness" of sample and "rapport" in interview situations, evaluations of the relative merits of different types of questionnaires for different types of research problems, the construction of "panels" for tracing attitude changes over time--in short, it has turned the attention of political scientists to a whole range of problems which have occupied sociologists and psychologists for two decades. Not surprisingly, both the focus and the techniques have resulted in a proliferation of studies in the field of voting behavior and "political personality." So great was the concentration of political behaviorists on voting behavior some years back that one sympathetic commentator considered totally identifying research in political behavior with research in voting behavior.

Other salient technical and theoretical innovations and emphases that have resulted from defining the individual as the basic unit for political analysis include the application of psychoanalytic categories to the study of politics (good examples are the influential books of Lasswell, notably, Psychopathology and Politics, Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?, World Politics and Personal Insecurity, and Power and Personality; a good recent example of the application of other psychological categories to political behavior is the article by Robert Lane, "Political Character and Political Analysis"); the utilization of the concept of role in political studies for integrating psychological and social or institutional categories; and increased utilization of test instruments and techniques normally associated with sociometric and psychometric research.

Concomitant consequences of the general orientation of political behaviorists are the use of small groups in social science laboratories, the use of content analysis for quantifying documentary data, and the use of mathematical models, particularly in research on the decision-making process. Notable too are the significantly greater sophistication of some political scientists about problems of research design, including the formulation of operational hypotheses and application of more rigorous canons of verification, and the greatly increased effort to identify uniformities of behavior in political situations.

Like most other political scientists I have views about the behavioral approach to the study of politics, about its promise for the future, and about its effects on the profession as a whole.

On balance I think the ferment it has produced within the discipline is a good thing. It should result in general progress toward the common goal of all political scientists which is, as I stated at the outset, the accumulation of a systematic and orderly body of knowledge about the political universe--a universe whose importance can hardly be overstated in this period when governments will determine nothing less than the continued existence of human life. I welcome the efforts of behaviorists to increase the reliability of our findings by making them more precise, more rigorous, and less impressionistic, and I welcome the development and utilization of any and all techniques for accomplishing this purpose. I think the methodological preoccupation of behaviorists has had the salutary effect of making all political scientists more self-conscious about their goals, procedures, and findings. And I am convinced that the interdisciplinary focus of the behaviorists has awakened political scientists in general to the range of alternative approaches, orientations, goals and methods open to those concerned with the study of man in society, has disseminated the available knowledge about the behavior of men and groups in a wide

range of activities related to politics, and has created greater awareness of the kinds of technical devices available for the study of social--or political--activities. Furthermore, I am convinced that the theoretical emphasis of the behaviorists has led to a more concerted search for regularities and uniformities by most political scientists. In other words, I think the behaviorists have contributed and are contributing to an effort to shift the study of political science to the theoretical level, and I believe that it is desirable to make the effort to develop systematic theory if we are to achieve the most useful knowledge of government and politics.

--Evron M. Kirkpatrick
American Political Science Ass'n.

6. The Administrative Assistant

A tentative analysis of the formal and informal behavior of the increasingly encountered phenomenon of the "administrative assistant," with suggestions for study. Describes the conflict resulting as "selflessness" is required of men in a position of vantage. Some of the perplexities created in the hierarchy are also indicated.

Despite its theoretical interest and the attractive possibilities it offers for empirical research, the role of the administrative assistant seems to have been neglected in the study of organizational behavior. A few social scientists have referred to the role, but only in passing; its sociological interest has also been noticed in works of fiction and in the occasional writings of practicing executives.

The Role Defined -- The role of the administrative assistant consists in the performance of routine, non-decisive tasks such as collecting and issuing information, making appointments for meetings, and generally "keeping house." These routine tasks are inseparable from the major tasks of a responsible executive. However, since routine takes time that can be better spent on major tasks, executives have invented the role of administrative assistant to increase their own efficiency in making decisions.

It is an essential characteristic of the role of administrative assistant that it does not involve the authority to make independent decisions; only the executive role has that authority. Ideally, the administrative assistant is self-less, nothing but an aid-

ing instrument to an executive. Hence, perhaps, the desirability of that "passion for anonymity" which President Roosevelt called indispensable when Congress first appropriated funds for appointing a half-dozen White House administrative assistants. The administrative assistant is the "man in the middle," interposed by the executive between himself and a variety of people both in his own organization and in other organizations. As a neutral intermediary the administrative assistant deals with people of different levels of authority within his own and other organizations. He often deals, on behalf of his executive, with people who are officially superior to himself, though not superior to his executive employer.

The role of administrative assistant has long existed in informal versions, and still does. An executive's secretary, the captain's yeoman on a naval vessel, and the parish pastor's housekeeper all perform, informally and usually only in part, the role of administrative assistant. In addition to variations in degree of formalization, the role of administrative assistant varies also in the degree of functional significance it has for an organization. This differential can be most clearly seen when the ad-

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ministrative assistant to some very high-ranking official in an organization himself requires a full- or part-time administrative assistant.

Processes of Social Control and Problems of Social Strain -- The role of the administrative assistant has been defined as the performance of routine, non-decisive tasks for an executive role. But because of the frequent possibilities for discretion, for allocation of time, for interpretation of meaning in the realm of the routine, the role of the administrative assistant soon includes decision-making. The administrative assistant decides who shall have access to his executive employer and what information the executive will receive. The process of assumption of authority has been noticed by social scientists and others in a variety of situations in which there are formal and informal administrative assistants. In his study of intellectuals in labor unions, Harold Wilensky speaks incidentally of the union leader's private secretary and her assumption of the power to make decisions. "The union leader's private secretary," says Wilensky, "can be a source of much grief for the staff expert, or she can be a powerful support. For it is her job to decide whom the boss will see, whose memo gets on top of the pile, whose problem gets mentioned at the most propitious moment. The secretary is a key point of transmission on the grapevine, and can slant the content of the rumors that pass along it....In fact, there are cases in which office girls have been able to invoke the ultimate sanction against a staff expert, i.e., get him fired."[1] C. Wright Mills has remarked in passing on the power of administrative assistants in Washington. In his analysis of white-collar work he says, "...secretaries of top men, 'administrative assistants' as they are called in Washington, can call other secretaries to expedite matters that would take much longer through the regular channels."[2]

The tendency of administrative assistants to transform routine performance into decisive authority raises problems of social control for the executive role. The competent and responsible executive, aware of this constant tendency, has to exercise an equally constant care in drawing the line between what is routine and what is decision. In drawing the line, the executive has to make the decisions that are properly his; he does not leave these decisions to his administrative assistant. A more radical way of dealing with the problem is the elimination of administrative assistants altogether, at least in their formalized version. This solution for the control problem, we are told by Ralph J. Cordiner, President of General Electric Company, is the one that has been adopted by his company.

A significant feature of this organization is that it has no place for assistants, 'assistants-to,' or 'administrative assistants.' It is our firm belief that such titles or positions create confusion as to responsibility, authority, and accountability, and tend to retard the growth of men and the Company. If a position is too big for one person and appears to require assistants, then the work should be divided up and reorganized into as many positions as are required to do the work efficiently. Each position in the Company should be able to 'stand on its own,' with a specifically defined area of responsibility, authority, and accountability.[3]

1. H. L. Wilensky, Intellectuals in Labor Unions (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 251.

2. C. W. Mills, White Collar (N.Y.: Oxford, 1951), 210. Further on administrative assistants in Washington, cf. two columns by Arthur Krock in the New York Times, Dec. 11 and 14, 1956, "To Subdue the Government 'Indians'" and "In Defense of Government 'Indians'."

3. R. J. Cordiner, New Frontiers for Professional Managers (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 69-70.

The tendency for administrative assistants to take on some executive authority should not, let us clearly note, be understood as the product of personality factors alone. Although it is sometimes explained as merely the personal power wishes of some incumbent of an administrative assistant role, this tendency is inherent in the social situation and social processes we have described. Different personalities will act differently in the role, some pushing toward the increase of power, others sticking too close altogether to the routine, but whatever the personality tendencies and their effects, the social situation of the administrative assistant contains its own pressures toward the transformation of routine into decision.

These pressures have consequences for the incumbent of the role of the administrative assistant as well as for the organization. He too has problems to face. One of these, the problem of dealing with those who want the administrative assistant to turn routine into decision favorable to them, has been touched upon, and a solution presented, by Plagemann in The Steel Cocoon.[4] "As captain's yeoman," says Plagemann, Sullivan "was forced into a lonely and proud isolation. No man dared approach him without suspicion of his motives, because there were favors Sullivan could do; knowing this, Sullivan had to make the first move if he wanted a friend." There are, of course, other solutions to the problem, but Sullivan's seems especially suited for effective performance of his role as administrative assistant.

Another problem occurs for the administrative assistant when he feels that his executive employer has made a decision that is bad either for the organization or for some larger social interest, such as the national welfare. In this situation he may "leak" his views to higher authorities or to other organizations that can right the wrong he feels has been done.

When the executive does not exercise effective control over his administrative assistant, when the assistant does in fact make decisions that should be made by the executive, various social strains occur. While lower-ranking members of the organization may resent decisions made without authority as "unfair," they will feel powerless to right their wrongs. Demoralization ensues in the lower ranks. Higher-ranking members of the organization, the superiors, equals, or near-equals of the executive, may find the line between routine and decision hard to draw. Unwilling to appear oversensitive about authority should they be wrong about the administrative assistant's responsibilities, they remain suspended in uneasy doubt. The efficiency of executive decision processes suffers as a result.

Socialization Functions -- Another aspect of the role of administrative assistant that requires further study is its socialization functions. The role of administrative assistant can become, formally or informally, an apprenticeship to the role of executive employer, or to some other executive role that is similar but lower-ranking. Part of such an apprenticeship consists in vicarious participation in decision, another part in transferring into the realm of the routine more and more of what was first defined as decision. Apprenticeships of this kind have been served by administrative assistants who have succeeded to the presidencies of business corporations.

For female secretaries, who act in part or whole as administrative assistants, the socialization undergone in the role has other consequences. The female secretary who learns how to deal skillfully with her executive employer's equals, who is entrusted with more important matters as part of her routine tasks, acquires characteristics that are attractive to potential spouses who are themselves the equals or eventual equals of her employer. Thus both men and women administrative assistants are socialized into new and more valued behavior, which the women

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4. B. Plagemann, The Steel Cocoon (N.Y.: Viking, 1958), p. 107.

may use to gain better husbands, as the men use it to gain better jobs.

Needs and Possibilities for Research -- The desirability for further research on the role of the administrative assistant is, perhaps, now apparent. Such research should seek to test and refine the tentative analysis presented here. Intensive interviewing with, or detailed questionnaire data from, a group of administrative assistants is recommended as a first step. This group might be composed entirely of administrative assistants in the same type of organization, e.g., administrative assistants to U.S. Senators or to corporation presidents. For purposes of comparison it might be composed of administrative assistants from different types of organization. The memoirs of powerful political, military, and business leaders might be searched for additional material. So also might various works of fiction; novels about big business such as Cameron Hawley's Executive Suite come immediately to mind. Finally, employment agencies specializing in private secretaries might be investigated, to tap the knowledge of an informed placement official or to gain access to printed handbooks for the instruction of secretaries who in effect also serve as administrative assistants.[5] In short, informal sources of information as well as formal research techniques would seem to be useful in learning about a role which is itself not always formalized.

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5. Cf. M. Bredow, The Medical Assistant: A Guidebook for the Nurse, Secretary, and Technician in the Doctor's Office (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1958). Miss Bredow is Dean of Women, Eastern School for Physicians' Aides, New York.

--Bernard Barber
Barnard College, Columbia Univ.

7. The Roper Public Opinion Research Center

The present and possible uses of the Roper Center's extensive collection of survey data, as suggested by the Center's booklet, The Roper Public Opinion Research Center at Williams College, are noted.

For several years it has been widely recognized that increasing use of the survey method in the social sciences has been accompanied by inadequate use of existing data. (Cf., for example, Y. Lucci, "A Center for Survey Research Materials," PROD, I (November 1957).) In part to step up the use of survey materials, the Roper Public Opinion Research Center was formally established at Williams College in July, 1957.

The Center has three functions: (1) To assemble, preserve and organize within a single classification system the past and future survey data of most of the recognized opinion research organizations throughout the world; (2) to make these materials accessable to scholars engaged in secondary research projects; (3) to provide educators with a reservoir of social science data useful in classroom teaching.

At its founding the Center had little more than some original survey work carried out by the faculty and students of Williams College, and two decades of survey materials from Elmo Roper and Associates. By mid-1958, seventeen other American groups and twenty-five foreign organizations had placed their data at the Center. Among the American organizations are some of the largest and best-known university and commercial survey groups: American Institute of Public Opinion; Belden Associates; Benson & Benson, Inc.; Bureau of Applied Social Research; Crossley, Inc.; Crossley, S-D Sur-

veys, Inc.; Field Research Company; International Research Associates, Inc.; Minnesota Poll; National Opinion Research Center; Office of Public Opinion Research; Opinion Research Corporation; Alfred Politz Research, Inc; The Psychological Corporation; Wallaces' Farmer Poll; Washington Public Opinion Laboratory; Wisconsin Agriculturist Poll.

Cooperating foreign organizations are located in twenty countries: Australia: Australian Public Opinion Polls; The McNair Survey Pty., Ltd. Austria: Institut für Marktforschung. Belgium: Doxometrie. Brazil: Instituto de Pesquisas de Opiñao e Mercado. Canada: Canadian Facts Limited; Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. Cuba: Salas y Gutiérrez Gamoneda. Denmark: Observa. France: Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique; Service de Sondages et Statistiques. Germany: DIVO Marktforschung. Italy: DOXA; IIOP. The Netherlands: Nederlandse Stichting voor Statistiek. Japan: The Central Research Services, Inc. Mexico: International Research Associates. Norway: FAKTA. The Philippines: L. G. Wagner Limited. Spain: Iberométrica. Sweden: Marknadskonsult. Switzerland: Gesellschaft für Marktforschung. United Kingdom: Research Services Ltd.; Social Surveys Limited. Venezuela: International Research Associates, C. A.

All the past and present data of the forty-three cooperating organizations have been placed at the Center, except a small percentage of studies that individual clients did not wish to have made available. For each study the Center has punched-card decks, interview schedules, code books, and job specifications, as well as all reports and public releases that could be obtained.

Thus far the Center has developed two indexes. One is a master card system that contains all questionnaire items, filed under major and minor categories. For example, the Minnesota Poll's query, "Have you heard or read anything about the court trial involving Alger Hiss and Whitaker Chanbers?" is filed under the major category Government U.S., in subcategory "Communists and." A sup-

plementary index of face-data information has also been compiled, permitting researchers to gain access to surveys on which information such as ethnic background, income, etc., was obtained.

Use of the Center -- In the earliest stages of its development the Center was plagued by the view that it was primarily an element in Williams' undergraduate curriculum, and was used largely in connection with courses in the methodology of social science. After some months of operation, however, the Center began a publicity campaign among social scientists, and at present distributes information on the Center and its materials to a mailing list of over 20,000. Nevertheless, at present its resources are being only inadequately exploited.

At the end of its first year of operation the Center had processed only 197 inquiries, about two-thirds of which came from individuals and groups connected with academic institutions: of the academicians 50% were sociologists and 20% political scientists. Others, in order of decreasing frequency, were psychologists, economists and historians. Non-academic requests came from industrial research groups, communication media research departments, research institutes, and government research agencies.

The services of the Center warrant greater use. On request it will provide copies of questionnaires and tabulations on file; at no charge it prepares tabulations, with an upper limit of five hours of machine operating time per project. For major projects the Center will prepare tabulations at cost, duplicate and loan relevant material, or extend machine time and working space to qualified individuals wishing to work at the Center. There is also a subscription service, providing a complete card index of questionnaire items, with annual supplements, and copies of available past data releases, also with annual supplements.

Access to survey data is restricted to those doing serious scholarship "or otherwise advancing the public inter-

est." The only researchers specifically prohibited are those who would exploit the data for personal or commercially competitive objectives. Those wishing access to the data at the Center must submit a brief statement of the sponsorship and purposes of their research project to the Director, presently Philip K. Hastings. (The full address is: Philip K. Hastings, Director, The Roper Public Opinion Research Center at Williams College, Post Office Box 1270, Williamstown, Massachusetts.)

The Roper Center is in a position to make distinctly valuable contributions to the social sciences. Some of its possibilities are so obvious that they may have been overlooked: Many secondary studies can be made from existing data, comparing the same relations in differing social, economic, geographic, cultural, and temporal settings. Evaluation of the present wealth of material can lay the groundwork and suggest hypotheses for primary research. Data coming from two or more organizations can be accumulated and combined to give more comprehensive understanding of particular sub-groups and problems. Given the existence of the Roper Center materials and facilities there is less excuse for accidental duplication of previous surveys, or for running new surveys that contain only minor variations on previous work. One of the more intriguing possibilities is that the Center can provide material on which undergraduate and graduate students can cut their academic teeth, doing research that is both useful and original, even though perforce, in most cases, by mail.

--Staff

8. The IPSA Congress at Rome

Several hundred political scientists from different lands gathered at Rome the week of September 15 for the fourth triennial Congress of the International Political Science Association. They held formal discussions on interest groups, public enterprise, executive-legislative relations, war, local government, and theory and practice in Political Science; informal discussions dealt largely with how each had luckily managed to be on hand, with the beauties of Rome and Roman women, and with the relative excellences of the restaurants.

The contrast between formal and informal topics was a little sharper than is usual at American national gatherings because the formal diet was thin and the informal fare was rich. Since a measure of the interest of a meeting is the correlation between formal and informal discussion, changes would have to be introduced in both respects if the next meeting is to register an improvement.

It would be easier to adjust the informal than the formal setting. Both the external and internal milieu of the Congress were aesthetically superb and quite comfortable. Few men have seen enough of Rome to ignore it during a conference. Not only the Americans but many others ventured over the city by day and night; they went into session only to count away the hours like time-servers. But even inside, the murals, draperies, floors, windows, carved chairs, and rugs carried the eye and mind of men from the less profound verbal passages to the creations of the long dead.

Supposing an improved political science to be the object, it would perhaps be better to hold international conferences not at Rome or the several places like it, but at other beautiful places less stimulating to the intellect--Grenoble, Strasbourg, Turin, Edinburgh, Geneva, or Palermo. Why go to Rome to talk about specialized subjects in unfamiliar tongues with strangers, while every fountain, church and statue is ready to speak

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on universal topics omnilingually, as a friend?

If political science were to depend upon its international meetings, it would move ahead very slowly. Few men--let us say less than a quarter of the one hundred best political scientists--can follow a paper in a language other than their own. Simultaneous translation helps considerably, and was employed at Rome. Advance mimeographing of formal presentations also helps the one-way flow of formal thought, and this too was done at Rome. However this has a major drawback; when confronted with the full modern effect of rapid reproduction of thought, even professors who have a medieval attachment to the lecture behave logically--at least with respect to others than themselves: they read the advance paper and do not attend, whether in body or in mind alone. Only informal discussion can liberate the academic congress from the appalling thralldom of printed papers combined with formal lectures. The Rome Congress met generally in two, large, simultaneous sessions. Discussants followed the speakers in the order in which their written requests were received. They were not foresworn to relevance, nor were they lined up topically; that is, with good reason, given the undisciplined nature of our colleagues in this respect, a sheer chronological order substituted for the better principle of speaking to a point.

How much more instructive and interesting would have been the meetings if small discussion groups had been the media of communication! Suppose that twenty tables, instead of two halls of desks, were the means of exchange. Perhaps from five to twenty men would cluster around a table at a given time, some sitting, others standing, with a constant movement from the fringes of one group to another. Men of different countries would have numerous chances to become acquainted with one another. They would rub elbows. Nobody would be stuck in a bad session without recourse. Language difficulties could

be adjusted pragmatically: by speaking slowly, by participants interjecting scraps of translation, by the better linguists speaking summaries in another language or two. All the nuances of communication that are lost in a large gathering, such as gestures, smiles, grimaces, expressions of comprehension, can help men understand one another in a small group and help them move from idea to idea: the very poor linguist can risk his halting speech. Points can be repeated. A man may even have his own translating assistant with him to whisper significant passages into his ear. A number of underemployed but willing Italian students were assisting the administration of the Congress. Judging from the cordial interest some of the members displayed toward the fairer of the assistants, they might applaud the occasion for this more functional relationship (and could "rationalize it in terms of public interest.")

The American Political Science Association and other American groups have by no means adapted the logical and psychological conclusions of the science of communication to their own conventions, but generally they have moved further toward achieving the expressed goals of the convocation of the brethren than has IPSA.

The content of the papers at the IPSA Congress was on the whole poor. The best men were not certain what they should give to the audience; the mediocrities were sure they were giving the audience what was best for it. The United States contingent was numerous. Negotiations between James K. Pollock, President of IPSA, and the Carnegie Corporation and SSRC had eventuated in a generous program to bring a number of American scholars to Rome. The Americans were also of high calibre, but with a couple of exceptions, behaved like the Yankees in spring training. They were rusty of language; they were serious, dominating, but a little nonplussed at the formalism and impersonalism of the gathering. They bunted for fear of knocking the pitchers off the box; they were seeking without success the brilliant players on the other teams; they clubbed together

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and the other nationalities tended to do the same.

IPSA is a confederational government, built upon national associations, a number of which it helped create following its own birth in 1950. It resembles thus the growth of the United States, where many states were carved out of new lands by the older federated states of the East. The IPSA Council, like the U. S. Senate, overrepresents the underdeveloped and underpopulated areas, but unlike the U. S. A., IPSA's President is elected by the Council. The imbalance would be forbidding if IPSA were of great intellectual or propagandistic importance and if the underdeveloped countries used their representation as a cultural weapon. However, just as some of the new Western states merely added representation to the Eastern interests who owned their resources, the non-Western-European delegations attach themselves to their cultural godfathers from the U. S. A. or Europe. Actually most of the professors who came from the rest of the world could barely cope with the trip and the subject-matter, and so were an audience factor and a voting factor, but not a contributing intellectual element nor a competitive elite. There was little nationalism among the Western nations; a Frenchman was elected President, not because his French colleagues gave him enthusiastic support, but because some English and American members settled upon him as the best candidate present. A Russian made an appearance; some Poles were present. The Russian asked the right, denied to all but the Italian hosts, to speak in Russian, and was refused. Only a handful of members from the non-Western-European and non-North-American world attended.

It appears, therefore, that the structure of IPSA is a little absurd but that it is not politically dangerous. Moreover, the structure of IPSA is not likely to provide much intellectual leadership in political science. It represents, confederationally, the national associations, and the national associations repre-

sent the prevailing hierarchies of academia and therefore the old types of political science (save in the U. S. A.). Besides, in the less developed countries of the world, there is little political science worth mentioning. When and if the Russians and their cohorts move more strongly into IPSA, the mediocre tendencies of the organization will be accentuated, for the communists have no pure political science. (Admittedly the CIA or State Department might well wish to pay some American political scientists to run a kindergarten for these people.)

It should be recognized, of course, that some excellent scholars are active in IPSA. They are principally historians in the old tradition, legists, or mines of structural detail. Conservative by training and temper, installed comfortably in the best positions in their homeland universities, they are little interested in IPSA as an evangelical instrument.

Finally, in enumerating the limitations of IPSA as a vanguard of intellectual advance, one may not ignore the financial factor. IPSA is poor; so is its sponsor UNESCO; so are most of its collective and individual members. Like many of the poor, IPSA will use money as a donor of money may wish; but left to itself (and otherwise slyly or unconsciously), it will use money to expand its organization and its affiliates. This is no more or less than to say that IPSA is primarily a bureaucratic phenomenon with an intellectual superstructure, rather than an intellectual manifestation. No offense is intended, for IPSA is undoubtedly succeeding in organizing scattered groups throughout the world around the lowest common denominator of political studies.

On the other hand, should one have in mind any considerable improvement in the state of political science in the modern world, he might best proceed independently, and naturally, to discover who agree with his views of political science, to gather such people together, and to strive to ease their communications and promote their researches. American

SIGMUND FREUD AND THE JEWISH MYSTICAL TRADITION

By DAVID BAKAN, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Missouri.

THIS book offers an imaginative thesis soundly presented and documented: that Freudian psychoanalysis was more than the contribution of one man and one generation, that its development was inextricably linked to the history of Judaism, particularly of Jewish mystical thought. The author suggests that Freud's repeated affirmation of his Jewish identity had far greater significance for the development of psychoanalysis than is usually recognized.

TALENT AND SOCIETY

By DAVID C. MCCLELLAND, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University; ALFRED L. BALDWIN, Professor and Head, Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, Cornell University; URIE BRONFENBRENNER, Professor of Psychology, Cornell University; and FRED L. STRODTBECK, Associate Professor of Social Psychology, University of Chicago.

Leaders in industry, government and science now realize they need to know more about a man than his ability to perform a particular job. They want to know such things as his skill in human relationships, his sense of community responsibility, his ability to know what others think, feel and want. This book brings new research, new thinking to bear on the methods that must be used to identify our sources of valuable talent at an early age.

foundations and associations have had much experience in this type of scientific developmental work. The type of conference that might do best might be something like the Conference on Political Behavior sponsored by the Social Science Research Council at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1949. To the conference might be invited a group of generally known and intellectually compatible writers and researchers on political subjects, each of whom would be asked to invite another unknown, presumably compatible person. From such a conference might come a greater intimacy and exchange among people who are interested primarily in the substantive knowledge, rather than in the conventional social structure, of the profession. Research ideas, interdisciplinary contacts, and opportunities for international projects would be some of the results to be expected. Perhaps the conference might act also on the growing problem of the translation of articles and books, especially to benefit the unilingual Americans.

--Alfred de Grazia
Princeton, New Jersey

9. THE GAME BAG

The American Political Science Association kindly offered us facilities for a cocktail party at its annual convention in St. Louis in September, and about 150 friends showed up for PROD's first anniversary celebration. The guests bought their own drinks, because we had cunningly promised to pick up the tab only if PROD turned a profit. It was a good and useful occasion, and we hope to repeat the party next year.

Each guest received a copy of the profit and loss statement and balance sheet for the first year; the statement is also reproduced on the inside back cover of this issue. It shows that a high proportion of our 2,000 readers have not gotten around to paying the $2 annual charge and we hope that they will do so now. The second year should show a financial improvement and may reduce Alfred de Grazia's outlays of cash, which amounted to about $1500. (There is little expectation that the deferred payment of Editor and Assistant will ever be paid.)

Still, PROD is successful: it is regularly published, it is read by the right audience, and it is liked; it loses the very minimum sum that a journal can lose.

Our readers can help us out in three ways. (1) They can send in material and solicit it from others. (2) They can give a thought to those who advertise in PROD. These several adventurous publishers are the only ones who believe, as we do, that our readers are a very important group of social scientists and who have gone out of their way and out of pocket to express that confidence. (3) Finally, they can solicit interested and intelligent subscribers; if each present subscriber sends us one more subscription we will be near the BREAK EVEN POINT on production costs. If you represent a foundation simply mail us a check in a plain, brown envelope....

The last Congress passed the "freedom of information" bill, which is of interest to students of the governmental process. It amends the 1789 "Housekeeping Act," which has been used to refuse the public and Congress information contained in the executive establishment's files, and announces the principle that Federal officials must have statutory authority to deny access to information. This Moss-Hennings Bill was approved over the objections of all ten Departments. Congressional inquiry had disclosed many cases of unreasonable and self-protective secrecy; much more research needs to be done on the full range and significance of these limitations on access. Thousands of cases are decided every month on an ad hoc, unilateral basis by

government. Political philosophers will be interested in this paradox of one kind of privacy growing fast while another kind is diminishing. Could it fairly be said that: While the government knows more and more about us, we can know less and less about it?

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10. Disarmament and the Fallibility of Inspection

Inspection may not be psychologically foolproof, even if technically so. Social scientists have almost ignored applied research on the possibilities of disarmament, because of several improbable theories. They should address themselves to a number of questions aimed at bringing about disarmament under imperfect conditions.

The years of the post-World War II period have seen a striking discrepancy between policy requirements and scholarly research in the area of internationally controlled disarmament, and it might be pertinent to seek explanations for this inattention to so demanding a situation. First, there is a widespread acceptance among political scientists of the notion that any successful disarmament must be preceded by a range of negotiated political settlements; without some degree of political stability among nations, none can afford to reduce their military capabilities. Such, for example, seems to be the position taken by Kennan and Morgenthau,[1] and it cannot be easily dismissed. I would, however, question the assumption that political settlement involving, for example, the abandonment of bases and launching sites is qualitatively different from the surrender of some of the weapons or delivery systems based upon these pieces of territory. In any international negotiation, as de Madariaga reminded us years ago,[2] the commodity

being bartered is power, regardless of its form. Political settlement and disarmament seem to be inextricably linked.

Another explanation might lie in the general proposition that there is no possibility of "doing business" with the Soviet Union until its elite abandons the main outlines of its present aggressive policy. Perhaps, but doesn't this condemn us to a state of fearful paralysis while awaiting an extremely unlikely metamorphosis? We are also told that disarmament cannot proceed until there has been a significant diminution of international tensions, but who is there who would seriously contend that such a tension-reduction is possible while the powers each have the capacity to annihilate one another, and give frequent and persuasive indication of a willingness to employ that capacity?

A fourth possible explanation, and the one that concerns us here, is the difficulty of inspection. Moving from the premise that no national elite can afford to attach much weight to the promises of another, it is asked whether the extreme hazards of possible evasion do not suggest a moratorium on any serious disarmament negotiations until technicians and engineers have brought forth a foolproof inspection technique.

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1. American Diplomacy: 1900-1950 (N.Y.: Mentor, 1952), pp. 94, 100, 143-44; Realities of American Foreign Policy (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1954); New York Times, November 18, 1957, p. 10; Politics Among Nations (N.Y.: Knopf, 1954, 2nd ed.), p. 404; U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Disarmament, Hearings (Washington: G.P.O.),

pp. 1015, 1092.
2. Disarmament (New York: Coward-McCann Company, 1929), p. 63.

Two thoughts would seem to be relevant here. First, is there any indication that such a foolproof technique is scientifically possible, particularly during the critical and dangerous years just ahead? And second, is it not likely that, even if such a system were to be developed, the national decision-makers would have to operate on the assumption that their opposite numbers would nevertheless attempt to evade it, and might possibly succeed? As suggested elsewhere[3] the answer would seem to be in the affirmative; the obsessive preoccupation with national security must compel the policy-maker and negotiator to take the most pessimistic view of the effectiveness of any inspection or verification system. This would seem to apply not only to inspection for production and stockpiling, but for nuclear testing and explosions as well.

If these assertions are correct, and the evidence tends to corroborate them, then the scholar, the elite, and the general public are consigned to a further indefinite period of futile waiting, be it for the Soviets to reform, settlements to be negotiated, tensions to disappear, or the perfect inspection system to be developed. Perhaps there might be some merit in accepting as facts of international life the phenomena noted above, and addressing ourselves to the problem of mitigating or ameliorating the risks attendant to them. What is proposed, therefore, is a renewed research effort in the disarmament field.

The problem would seem to resolve itself into the following: Given the possibility of evasion in any arms reduction or control schedule is ever-present; given that leaders must assume the high probability of evasion; then what techniques or arrangements might be developed to reduce the danger of destruction to the state that has adhered to an

3. "Threat-Perception and the Armament-Tension Dilemma," Conflict Resolution, II (#1), pp. 90-105.

agreement in good faith, only to discover that the potential enemy has secretly violated its commitment? The hypothesis offered here is that such a technique or arrangement would have to offer several assurances. It must provide the state that is the victim of the subterfuge with some effective means of promptly redressing the balance upset by the evasion. This might take the form of an internationally controlled arsenal or arsenals, whose doors would be automatically unlocked and whose stockpiles would be made immediately available to the state so threatened by the sudden discovery of the military imbalance. Or it might take the form of an internationally controlled agency with a wide range and adequate supply of nuclear and conventional weapons available, whose presence and potential employment might serve to persuade the violator of the agreement to surrender its contraband.

If these represent the only possible solutions to the dilemma of evasion, the multitude of questions and difficulties that they raise ought perhaps not be consigned to the basket marked "impossible." A number of complex, but by no means un-researchable problems are involved. Can a schedule be constructed that provides assurance of relative military parity during the arms reduction process, or does the variety in national concepts of strategy preclude it? Is there any criterion by which nuclear and conventional weapons, or aircraft and naval craft, can be equated? Can a hypothetical "division" or "wing" be devised? What sort of weapons might be scrapped first? Is scrapping weapons a sound idea? Might not weapons be transferred to international depots? Who would man these depots? How would the hardware be transported? Where would such depots be located? Should United Nations or national personnel man them? What powers should such personnel enjoy? How would we reduce the dangers of such weapons concentrations? Could they be taken over by national armed forces? How would a violation be defined? To whom would it be reported, and by

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whom? Who would constitute an inspectorate? What degree of access need be granted? What relation would the inspectorate or the arsenal-keepers bear to the present U. N. structure? How finance the operation? Under what conditions could national forces take possession of an international stockpile? Should such possession be permitted at all? The list of questions could be even longer, but this sample should suggest ample possibilities to those concerned with this particular political problem.

It may turn out that the hypothesis on evasion is unsound, and that a foolproof technique is in the offing. Also the Soviet empire might collapse or reform, or all of the areas of political conflict might be reduced to some universal peace formula, or that "people-to-people" programs and intellectual exchange will lead to the disappearance of international tensions. Any of these _might_ happen, but its probability is not high. Until and unless such dramatic occurrences do take place, we might hope that our universities and foundations will stimulate scholars to address themselves to the challenge of the difficult problem of disarmament.

<div align="right">

--J. David Singer
University of Michigan
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11. Political and Apolitical Personality

Personality-and-culture study is contrasted with intracultural personality studies. A preliminary project comparing politicians and apolitical citizens in Arizona is described as a key type of intracultural study.

I.

Lately, interest in the study of political personality seems to be picking up. Three articles in the field appeared in a single (June 1958) issue of the American Political Science Review.

The first of the two main approaches to politically important personality differences comes from the personality-in-culture studies of the past thirty years. Since the early work of W. I. Thomas, Edward Sapir, and Ruth Benedict much interest has developed in the influence of culture on human personality. An awareness of cultural diversity and the influence of cultural patterning on individual behavior, from the anthropological side, was combined with a dynamic theory of psychological development from Freudian sources. What emerged was a more or less integrated approach to the culture-personality complex. The basic premise of the students of personality-in-culture is that fairly stable cultural patterns (especially those associated with infant care and early childhood) tend to create common and fairly uniform personality characteristics in the individuals within a culture. This, if one may over-simplify, is the notion of "modal personality."

The search, among those who adopt this first approach, is quite obviously for personality likenesses within cultures and personality contrasts between and/or among cultures. The expectation is that there are modal types within cultures; supposedly, greater knowledge of actual and potential conflicts, and thus the possibility of wiser decision-making, will come from studying the modal types.

The other framework for the study of politically significant personality characteristics is the intra-cultural search for differences between individuals and between groups. While the personality-in-culture people look for mass-pervading uniformities, Lasswell, Adorno, Eysenck, et al., look for features that distinguish individuals from each other. According to Lasswell's theory the political personality displaces his private motives onto public objects; the

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apolitical personality within the same society does not. Adorno's authoritarian personality is distinguished from its cultural peers by a particular syndrome of rigidity, concreteness-of-thinking, intolerance of ambiguity, etc. Eysenck, by factor analysis, finds that political partisans may be significantly differentiated on conservative-radical and tendermindedness-toughmindedness scales.

The study of political personality, when seen as an _intra_-cultural problem, is relatively unconcerned with "national" or cultural differences, except insofar as cross-cultural or transcultural comparisons might later be made. Those of this (_intra_-cultural) orientation ask not whether the modal personality of the American differs from that of the Japanese, but whether certain personality factors enter into political activism and decision-making at the level of the individual within the American or Japanese cultures.

It is obvious that we need to know more about both the personality aspects of political behavior within the culture, and the existence and operation of modal personalities in different cultures. The integration of these two approaches is also desirable. The political scientist, particularly if fortified by study of psychology, sociology, and anthropology, may occupy a good position as coordinator (and, hopefully, as synthesizer) of the work of both types of personality study in the policy sciences.

II.

The folklore of American politics is loaded with notions, beliefs, and rules of thumb which turn about the central idea of a "political type" or of "political types." The core concept is that certain personality (or character) traits and types are in some significant sense related to political activism--that some people are "natural" politicians while others are not. The political "type" is variously described in such terms as extrovert, other-directed, oral-optimist; and the peculiarly political "traits" are said to include gregari-

ousness, power-consciousness, egoism, affability, outgoingness, and the like.

There is a great deal of mythology about the political personality. There is quite a deal of speculation. But so far as I know there has been practically no effort to find, rather than impute, the characteristic traits of political activists. There are, of course, a number of case studies of individual politists, from traditional biographies to more sophisticated treatments such as Lasswell attempted in his early work on political psychopaths (Psychopathology and Politics, 1930). But these are frequently of atypical cases, highly subjective in analysis, and not capable of being combined into a useful sample for statistical purposes. There are, too, a few attempts to apply standard personality tests to political activists; these suffer from lack of careful planning, or smallness of sample, or the inapplicability of the testing instrument, or from all of these defects combined.

We still lack empirical studies of the personality traits of political activists, compared and contrasted with those of a matched sample of adults who are not politically active. This is a simple and by now old technique that offers no major methodological problems.

Why has this not been done? I think the answer is twofold. First, personality psychologists and political scientists rarely develop mutuality of interest, techniques, or professional understanding. Secondly, and perhaps more important, the practical problems involved in studying politicians are immense. Politicians in the past have not been willing to be captured, held, and studied like college sophomores.

But the resistance of the professional politicians to social science is rapidly breaking. It is a minor premise of this proposal that increasingly the American professional politician is better educated, more sympathetic to "social engineering" (the concept of "public relations" itself is broad enough to front, if necessary, for basic studies in human behavior),

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and more aware of the need for egg-head advisors in his complex operational world. As he more and more relies on the intellectual both for policy-research and the techniques of consent-engineering, he cannot long refuse to be himself an object of scientific study.

Our experience with Arizona politicians has been that, once they are convinced of the honesty (if not the scientific purity) of academic research--and once they trust the interviewer as a person--they are almost to a man willing to talk about themselves. It also helps, we find, for the person directing the project to have had some experience in political life, or at least a personal relationship with a number of politicians who are, in their own milieu, moderate and respected by their fellow politicians.

III.

A pilot study was done in 1958 on one hundred and thirty-six Arizon-ans, about half of whom were political activists (from precinct committeemen to state senators and one ex-governor) and half of whom were matched apoliticals. This has provided many checks and ideas concerning the selection of samples, the wording of questionnaires (particularly of open-ended questions), and the value of techniques to obtain the cooperation of politicians and non-politicians.

We propose to follow this with a full-scale study in which, foundations willing, the sample can be made representative and considerably larger (to include also non-party activists, i.e., pressure group politists), and better test instruments might be developed. I cordially welcome both ideas on substance or techniques, and critics and/or collaborators on the project.

--Bernard Hennessy
University of Arizona

12. A Program of Legal and Political Philosophy

An outline of the objectives of the Rockefeller Foundation's program in stimulating speculative thought on law and politics.

About four years ago, The Rockefeller Foundation undertook a modest program of encouragement to legal and political philosophy, fully realizing that funds alone can do little to stimulate speculative thinking. In the first decades of this century, political scientists and lawyers were necessarily caught up in reform movements and in the immediate task of blueprinting new and expanding systems of public administration, social services, and the administration of justice. They brought to this task a high order of intelligence, energy, and resourcefulness. Prompted by circumstances, they helped to work out imaginative responses to the complicated problems of a rapidly expanding industrial society. However, their efforts left them little time for the elaboration of more general theories of democracy, law, or administration. The scholars are frank to call this their unfinished business. In consequence, the decade following World War II has witnessed a resurgence of interest in the broader issues of law and politics which in earlier times were the province of philosophers and statesmen. Younger scholars, particularly, have begun to respond, however haltingly, to the challenge of this need; in large measure, their activities have had first call on the interests of the Foundation.

Three lines of approach can be identified. First, some scholars of law and politics, in pursuit of more general principles, are returning to the study of the classics of the Western and non-Western world. They seek to understand more clearly this body of enduring ideas and accumulated wisdom, especially as it bears on perennial problems of law and politics

such as justice, freedom, power, and virtue. The philosophers of natural law have occupied the attention of a small but vital group of younger theorists anxious about the possible undermining of natural rights in mass societies and skeptical about some current theories justifying fundamental rights. A few examples may illustrate this interest. The Foundation has made grants for research on Thomistic legal and political thought, on the classical background of modern political theory, and on the idea of justice and virtue in Greek political thought. Other scholars have turned to the more recent classics of John Stuart Mill, John Locke, Edmund Burke, and David Hume; still others are investigating the underlying political and legal philosophy of jurists and statesmen like Justices Holmes and Brandeis, and Abraham Lincoln. Already these studies give evidence of illuminating significant truths, embedded in the great writings of the past, which hold relevance for the present era. Taken together they constitute a re-examination of the significant values, ideas, and concepts that are the legacy of political speculation on fundamental problems since Plato and Aristotle.

Another promising trend results from attempts to grapple with the pressing issues of contemporary societies. It is obvious, for example, that the problems of constitutionalism, political representation, federalism, freedom and order, and civil liberties have taken on new urgency throughout the world. The rapid rise of new states and the growth and transformation of older ones demand that ancient concepts be reinterpreted in a new context or that more penetrating concepts be fashioned. This concern lies behind a number of studies encouraged by

the Foundation: the doctrines of the Supreme Court concerning civil liberties , the origins of modern legal institutions and representative government in the West, changes in the concept of property, the relationships between the legal systems and the official political ideologies of modern totalitarian states, the assumptions and goals of criminal law, the British concept of the judicial function, and legal problems of the welfare state.

A third approach is the quest for new and relevant political concepts that will reduce the study of political behavior to tractable proportions. Without a few ordering concepts to demarcate the field of politics or law from other social spheres, the scholar can scarcely orient himself in a maze of empirical phenomena. Promising newer concepts that have been elaborated and applied are power, interest groups, decision-making, and forms of leadership and organization. Some scholars predict that concepts of this kind hold the key to the discovery of what is recurrent and typical in the jungle of events. They are attempts to focus on the political process as a whole or in part, on the way governments make decisions, and on how they get and keep authority and power. In this the emphasis is on critical analysis and interpretation rather than on the amassing of facts.

The Foundation has sought to respond to this revived interest in theoretical work by encouraging younger scholars on these three fronts. A few distinguished senior scholars who have already made definite contributions have also been encouraged to bring important and original work to completion.

--Kenneth W. Thompson
The Rockefeller Foundation

13. The Research Program of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

PROD is interested in the full development of the great potential of committees of the Congress for systematic social research (see "Congress and the Support of Behavioral Science," in Vol. I, No. 5, May 1958). The work of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, published below, is therefore of double interest to our readers: it invites their research plans and it documents the research possibilities inherent in the legislative branch of government.

The Committee on Foreign Relations announced on October 15 that it is prepared to invite a limited number of private organizations and institutions to advise the Committee in connection with its current examination of the foreign policy of the United States. The Committee contemplates that with such assistance and through hearings it will ascertain the judgment of leaders of American thought on the future foreign policy role of the United States.

The announcement was made by the Executive Committee consisting of Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman, and Senators Sparkman, Hickenlooper and Aiken. This Executive Committee was named by the Chairman of the full Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Theodore Francis Green, for the purpose of supervising and coordinating the $300,000 study authorized by Senate Resolution 336, adopted by the Senate late last session.

In listing specific areas of study, the Executive Committee emphasized that they would be explored for the purpose of supplying the Committee with raw material, ideas, and recommendations which would be considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations in preparing its final report and such interim reports as may be advisable.

The Committee will approach its assignment in a nonpartisan manner, endeavoring to avoid transitory issues and to concentrate on the fundamental forces at work within and without the United States which must be understood if our foreign policy is to serve the nation.

At the present time, the Executive Committee is interested in the general areas of work described below. The description of these studies is necessarily sketchy; it is designed, however, to provide a basis for interested parties to discuss further details with the Executive Committee.

STUDY I - The Nature of Foreign Policy and the Role of the United States in the World

The Committee in examining this subject will seek a broad-gauge analysis of the basic aims of United States foreign policy as they have developed historically, with an estimate of the extent to which those aims are supported by the American people, and with a projection of the role which the United States should play in the future if such basic aims are to be achieved.

STUDY II - The Principal Ideological Conflicts, Variations Thereon, Their Manifestations, and Their Present and Potential Impact on the Foreign Policy of the United States

The Committee desires an analysis of the principal political and ideological forces of the twentieth century which have attracted substantial support from peoples, the strengths and weaknesses of those forces and their future development or constriction, and recommendations to the Committee of such courses of action as would seem to serve the interests of the United States.

STUDY III - World-Wide and Domestic Economic Problems and Their Impact on the Foreign Policy of the United States

This study will explore the extent to which economic problems affect foreign policies and foreign policies affect economic problems. Involved will be not only the needs of the United States for foreign markets and raw materials, but similar needs on the part of industrial nations. Problems of the underdeveloped countries will be dealt with separately.

STUDY IV - Foreign Policy Implications for the United States of Economic and Social Conditions in Lesser Developed and Uncommitted Countries

This study will explore the extent to which economic and social conditions and the aspirations of lesser developed countries affect the political, security and economic interests of the United States. It will also examine the implications of alternative United States policies toward the economic growth and political orientation of the lesser developed countries.

STUDY V - Possible Developments in Military Technology, Their Influence on Strategic Doctrine, and the Impact of Such Developments on United States Foreign Policy

This study will be concerned primarily with the interrelationship between military capabilities, strategic doctrine, and foreign policy. It will examine the kinds of "break through" in weapons development which could radically alter the balance of world military power over the next ten years and consider the implications of such changes upon strategic military doctrine and foreign policy.

STUDY VI - Possible Scientific Developments and Their Potential Impact on Foreign Policy of the United States

This study should be a free-wheeling, imaginative, but scientifically sound, examination of possible scientific developments over the next decade with an estimate of the impact of such developments on foreign relations.

STUDY VII - The Role of Multilateral Organizations in the Formulation and Conduct of United States Foreign Policy

This study will be concerned principally with the positive or negative impact of our membership in international organizations on the formulation and conduct of United States foreign policy. It would examine the implications of unilateral action of the United States as compared to collective action in furthering and enforcing peace.

STUDY VIII - Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy

This study will be concerned primarily with an analysis of the existing machinery of the federal government for the formulation of foreign policy and the making of day-to-day decisions. It should examine such subjects as the role of American interest groups and public opinion in the formulation of policy and its conduct in a democracy, the operation of the National Security Council and its effectiveness especially in the coordination of military and foreign policy, the operations of the Policy Planning Staff, and the actual as distinct from the constitutional division of responsibility between the Executive and Legislative branches of the government in the formulation of foreign policy.

STUDIES IX to XIV - United States Foreign Policies on a Geographic Basis

Bearing in mind the general scope of the projects heretofore outlined, the Committee plans a series of studies which would examine United States foreign policies on a geographic basis. These studies will focus not so much on past and present policies as on developing trends on an area by area basis in so far as those trends have a significant bearing on the basic interests of the United States.

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Special emphasis will be given to the subject of United States policies in Latin America in the light of the Senate's approval last session of S. Res. 330 authorizing the expenditure of not to exceed $150,000. The Latin American studies will be undertaken under the direction of the Consultative Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of which Senator Wayne Morse is Chairman.

The following regions will be covered: STUDY IX: Western Europe;

STUDY X: The U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe; STUDY XI: The Near East; STUDY XII: South Asia; STUDY XIII: Africa; STUDY XIV: The Far East, including Southeast Asia.

The Executive Committee announced that the above list of studies is not necessarily exhaustive. Several studies of a somewhat different nature and with different emphasis are under consideration.

--Carl Marcy
Chief of Staff
Committee on Foreign Relations

14. Annotated BIBLIOGRAPHY on Political Research

(Selection based upon a search of 135 journals, lists of government documents, and Publisher's Weekly, published or received in this country since the preceding issue of PROD.)

AAPOR, "Code of Professional Ethics and Practices." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Summer '58), 215. Formulated "toward the goal of maintaining sound practices in the profession of public opinion research and the confidence of all those who recognize the value of research."

Adler, M. J. The Idea of Freedom. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958. Analyzing the points of agreement and disagreement among writers throughout 25 centuries who tried to answer questions about freedom.

Alcorn, M. "Social Scientists and the Republican Party." Washington, D.C.: Republican National Committee, 1958 (mimeo.). Remarks before Washington Alumni Ass'n. of Harvard's Littauer School of Pub. Admin., April 23, 1958, on why social scientists are not Republicans but ought to be.

Anderson, N., and K. F. Nijkerk, "International Seminars: An Analysis and an Evaluation." Admin. Sci. Q., III (Sept.'58), 229-50. Effectiveness, defined as ability of seminar to develop into a homogeneous, face-to-face working group, evaluated in 24 international seminars.

Bay, C. The Structure of Freedom. Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1958. A systematic general inquiry into how the freedom and autonomy of the "other-directed" man can be reasserted.

Becker, H., "Culture Case Study and Greek History: Comparison Viewed Sociologically." Amer. Soc. R., XXIII (Oct.'58), 489-504. Considers a cultural case study as "a selective description of relatively unique societal phenomena" giving a tentative answer to a question concerning "relationships of social actions and norms that...admits of predictive solution." Evaluates both psychological problems and logical procedures to conduct such studies.

Beer, S. H., "Group Representation in Britain and the United States." Annals, CCCXIX (Sept.'58), 130-40. The distribution of power among pressure groups and parties is examined in Britain and the U.S., with the conclusions that in the former both parties and pressure groups are strong, in the latter both are weak.

Bergstraesser, A., "Wissenschaftliche Politik in unserer Zeit." Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, VI (July '58), 219-30. Politics as science is an attempt to utilize the objective nature of scientific method in formulating political policy and action. Obvious limitations are the inadequacies of scientific performance, the creative nature of statesman-

ship-in-practice, and the unforeseeable character of destiny.

Blaisdell, D. C., "Pressure Groups, Foreign Policies, and International Politics." Annals, CCCXIX (Sept.'58), 149-57. U.S. foreign policy is subject to the influences of numerous pressure groups, including the military and intergovernmental organizations; the subject needs study.

Bleznick, D. W., "Spanish Reaction to Machiavelli in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." J. of Hist. of Ideas, XIX (Oct.'58), 542-50. Case study of impact of imported ideas on political thought and action: violent overt Spanish opposition to Machiavellian proposals was accompanied by covert practice in many instances.

Bogardus, E. S., "The Direction of Sociological Research." Soc. & Social Research, XLIII (Sept.-Oct.'58), 38-41. Directions of 1) roles, 2) social and group structure, 3) social stratification, 4) deviant behavior, 5) social tensions, and 6) social change discussed and judged to point to "reliable and adequate system of sociological thought."

Bone, H. A. Party Committees and National Politics. Seattle: U. of Wash. Press, 1958. Origin, organization, role and activities of national party committees, House and Senate campaign committees, and Senate policy committees. Significance and future.

Briggs, A., "The Study of Cities." Confluence, VII (Summer '58), 107-14. Forthcoming areas of urban study are the study of non-Western cities, urban population, local urban history, and the large, growing Western city: their study is the focus of a number of disciplines.

Burns, A. L. "The New Weapons and International Relations." Australian Outlook, XII (June '58), 32-42. New weapons in the form of hydrogen bombs, ballistic missiles, and outer-space objects will change the form of and hopes for "relations of power" in both their military and their political implications. Speculation on disarmament and inspection prospects.

Butler, D. The Study of Political Behaviour. London: Hutchison, 1958. A description of various approaches to study of politics: deductive, statistical, psychological, sociological, descriptive, and practical.

Carr, E. H., "The Origin and Status of the Cheka." Soviet Studies, X (July, '58), 1-11. Closely detailed history of the Cheka, first Soviet secret body against counter-revolutionary activity, 1917-1922.

Carter, R. E., Jr., "Newspaper 'Gatekeepers' and the Sources of News." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Summer '58), 133-44. What are the personality characteristics of those who determine the news we read, and what are their interaction patterns with news source individuals?

Cassinelli, C. W., "Some Reflections on the Concept of the Public Interest." Ethics, LXIX (Oct.,'58), 48-61. "Public interest" is ambiguous, referring both to the interest of the public and to an interest possessed by the public: when the latter is assumed, a number of seldom-recognized ethical and conceptual problems arise, which bring the assumption into serious question.

Cole, T., "Functional Representation in the German Federal Republic." Midwest J. of Pol. Sci., II (Aug.'58), 256-77. Analysis of German chambers of commerce and industry, and of the economic councils of the Laender and their functionally representative second chambers. Their present roles are similar to those of the pre-Nazi era.

Dahrendorf, R., "Homo Sociologicus: Ein Versuch zur Geschichte, Bedeutung und Kritik der Kategorie der sozialen Rolle." Kölner Zeitschrift, X (#2, '58), 178-208. A wide-ranging commentary on the concept of social role, drawing on literary as well as scientific sources to trace its origins and present uses and misuses. 1st of 2 parts.

Daugherty, W. E., & M. Janowitz, eds. A Psychological Warfare Casebook. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Handbook and history with factual examples of planning, operations, and evaluation of results.

Davis, M., "French Electoral Sociology." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Spring '58), 35-55. Inadequacy of French electoral studies due largely to unneces-

sary limitations in methods used.

Davison, W. P., "The Public Opinion Process." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Summer '58), 91-106. Examination of public and group opinion processes from a variant of the everybody-believes-that-everybody-else-believes-but-nobody-really-believes point of view.

De Grazia, A., "Nature and Prospects of Political Interest Groups." Annals, CCCXIX (Sept.'58), 113-22. General theory of interest groups beginning with role theory. Views of interest groups as a pathological condition are inadequate; they are in fact instruments of pluralism and localism, and practical alternatives to centralism.

Diesling, P., "Socioeconomic Decisions." Ethics, LXIX (Oct.'58), 1-18. Three combined methods of dealing with economic and social decisions when they occur in a single problem-solving process are developed.

Ehrmann, H. W., "Pressure Groups in France." Annals, CCCXIX (Sept. '58), 141-48. Pressure groups in France, operating even from within the cabinet, have contributed to "immobilism" of political organs of French Republic.

Emerson, F. D., "The Roles of Management and Shareholders in Corporate Government." Law & Contemp. Problems, XXIII (Spring '58), 231-38. Contemporary corporation statutes do not "accord with the realities and needs of our society"; they are, in many cases, overly restrictive on rights of shareholders to participate democratically in corporate affairs.

Fauman, S. J., & H. Sharp, "Presenting the Results of Social Research to the Public." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Summer '58), 107-15. Social scientists of the Detroit Area Study (U. of Mich.) successfully applied some social science knowledge in communicating their results to public.

Feld, M. D., "Political Policy and Persuasion: The Role of Communications from Political Leaders." Conflict Resolution, II (Mar.'58), 78-89. Purpose of communications from political leaders is primarily persuasion; "their political utility is directly related to their effectiveness as the instrument and expression of compromise."

Frankfurter, F., "The Supreme Court in the Mirror of Justices." Amer. Bar Ass'n. J., XLIV (Aug.'58), 723ff. Criticism of belief that prior judicial service is a requisite for Supreme Court justices, and examination of necessary qualities of justices.

Garceau, O., "Interest Group Theory in Political Research." Annals, CCCXIX (Sept.'58), 104-12. Group theory is one of most systematic schemes for studying American polit. system, and requires variety of new research.

Gibbs, J. P., & K. Davis, "Conventional versus Metropolitan Data in the International Study of Urbanization." Amer. Soc. R., XXIII (Oct.'58), 504-14. To insure at least a rough degree of comparability of official data on urban proportions in the world's nations, the International Urban Research Office has prepared a world-wide delimitation of metropolitan areas of 100,000 or more inhabitants. On the basis of comparison with their own data on the metropolitan areas, the authors find that the Research Office figures possess a high degree of validity.

Gladstone, A. I., & M. A. Taylor, "Threat-Related Attitudes and Reactions to Communications about International Events." Conflict Resolution, II (Mar.'58), 17-28. Small sample study suggesting that "tendency to feel threatened appears to be especially important in thinking about international events...."

Greenwood, E., "Social Work Research: The Role of the Schools." Social Serv. R., XXXII (June '58), 152-65. Group research project, which has virtually replaced the indiv. thesis requirement for master's degree in social work, should be source of more basic social work research.

Hakman, N., "Bentley's Transactional View of Politics: An Approach to Social and Political Analysis." Social Sci., XXXIII (Jan.'58), 36-44. Details the nature and advantages of Bentley's approach, which is claimed to clear away "ghosts" of "attitudes," "value systems," "ideo-

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logical patterns," "institutions," and "empirical facts," when these are introduced as "causative unexplained forces in the social process."

Helson, H., R. R. Blake & J. S. Mouton, "An Experimental Investigation of the Effectiveness of the 'Big Lie' in Shifting Attitudes." J. of Social Psych., XLVIII (Aug.'58), 51-60. Study confirmed hypothesis that number of subjects and amount of shift away from the modal response increases with increased divergency of background opinion from modal opinion. Results attributable to relative weakness in internal anchoring of attitudes by comparison with factual types of tasks, and strength of social frame as primary anchorage for attitudes.

———, "Petition-Signing as Adjustment to Situational and Personal Factors." J. of Social Psych., XLVIII (Aug.'58), 3-10. Results of study; negative element in situation exerted more influence in causing individuals to refuse to sign a petition than did a positive element in inducing them to agree to sign. Submissiveness correlated significantly with refusal to sign when others refused or when proposal was unpopular.

Hermens, F. A., "Ethics, Politics, and Power: Christian Realism and Manichaean Dualism." Ethics, LXVIII (July '58), 246-59. A broad essay, using religious, sociological, and classical sources. Clearly presents several important facets of the problem of the moral limits of power and the possibilities of a better future politics.

———. The Representative Republic. Notre Dame, Ind.: U. of Notre Dame Press, 1958. General discussion of principles of representative republic, still valid, and analysis of developments in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy.

International Social Science Bulletin, X (#2, 1958). Under the heading of "Organization in the Social Sciences, News and Announcements," are descriptions of the following: the 1957 Conference of the World Association for Public Opinion Research, Göteberg, Sweden (273-88); the International Council for Research in the Sociology of Co-operation, Ivrea (293-94); the Institute of Community Studies, London (297); the Social Science Research Center, Puerto Rico (298); the International Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Fribourg (299).

Kann, R. A., "Public Opinion Research: A Contribution to Historical Method." Pol. Sci. Q., LXXIII (Sept.'58), 374-96. Sketches steps to be taken in historical investigation using methods approximating those of public opinion research, with aims of using these techniques as supplement to the historian's judgment and as a means to broaden use of other source materials.

Lasswell, H. D., "The Scientific Study of International Relations." Yearbook of World Affairs, XII. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1958. Broad survey of achievements, trends, and future prospects in study of international relations, discussing theories of equilibrium and theories of strategy in particular.

Lerner, D., & L. W. Pevsner. The Passing of Traditional Society. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Discusses trend toward modernization in Middle East in social reform, politics, economic progress, communication, and science. Influence of foreign societies also shown.

Levinson, D. J., "The Relevance of Personality for Political Leadership." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Spring '58), 3-10. Psychologist argues importance of intra-psychic influences as they interact with social, economic, and cultural variables to produce political behavior.

Maccoby, H., "The Differential Political Activity of Participants in a Voluntary Association." Amer. Soc. R., XXIII (Oct.'58), 524-32. Study of one voluntary community service association shows that membership provides stimuli which rouse participants to greater involvement in political affairs than non-members.

Meerloo, J. A. M., "Brainwashing and Menticide." Psychoanalysis & Psychoanalytic R., XLV (Spring-Summer '58), 83-99. Loosely reasoned analysis of methods and effects of mass-coercion and individual mental coercion, with interesting comments on "unobtrusive coercion."

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Melnik, C., & N. C. Leites. The House Without Windows: France Selects a President. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1958. Surveys complex workings of French government by following Dec.'53 National Assembly election of president. Particular emphasis on political structure and effect of multi-party system.

Miller, W. E., "The Socio-Economic Analysis of Political Behavior." Midwest J. of Pol. Sci., II (Aug.'58), 239-55. New and changing socio-economic variables have come to influence political attitudes and behaviors, requiring new approaches and reevaluation of the old.

Mitchell, W. C., "Occupational Role Strains: The American Elective Public Official." Admin. Sci. Q., III (Sept.'58), 210-28. Uses role analysis to schematize conceptually role strains among elected political officials. Research suggestions and hypotheses presented.

Moore, B., Jr. Political Power and Social Theory: Six Studies. Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1958. Survey of industrial advancement's influence on political, social, and intellectual progress.

Morgan, D. N., "An Interdisciplinary Program for Neopositivistic Social Science." Ethics, LXVIII (July '58), 292-95. Brief description of and attack upon positivism in social science for constraining and trivializing its subject-matter. Moreover, validity of attacks upon value-concerns is too uncertain to permit a surrender to positivism.

Morgan, D. N., "Is Justification Scientifically Impossible?" Ethics, LXIX (Oct.'58), 19-47. Extensive, orderly treatment of differences between rationalization and reason. Uses Fromm, Mannheim, Dewey, G. W. Allport, Marx, Freud. Answers title negatively.

Muensterberger, W., & S. Axelrad. Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences. N.Y.: International U. Press, 1958. 11 papers on psychological explanations of aspects of communication, anthropology and religion, and "psychobiology."

Nafziger, R. O., & D. M. White, eds. Introduction to Mass Communications Research. Baton Rouge, La.: U. of La. Press, 1958. A first-rate text that includes: W. Schramm, Challenge to Communication Research; M. S. MacLean, Jr., Research Planning; P. H. Tannenbaum, Experimental Method in Communication Research; R. E. Carter, Jr., Field Methods in Communication Research; J. E. Alman and D. M. White, Statistical Methods in Communication Research; P. J. Deutschmann, Measurement in Communication Research; B. H. Westley, Scientific Method and Communication Research.

Pollitt, D. H., "The Fifth Amendment Plea Before Congressional Committees Investigating Subversion: Motives and Justifiable Presumptions-- A Survey of 120 Witnesses." U. of Penna. Law R., CVI (June '58), 1117-37. Analysis by questionnaire, interview, etc., of Fifth Amendment pleaders indicating that there are many motives (the least of which is said to be actual fear of self-incrimination), among them a belief that question infringed freedom of speech or conscience, or that question would waive the right to refuse to identify others.

Ransom, H. H. Central Intelligence and National Security. Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1958. An uncritical but valuable study of limited data available on America's secret services.

Raven, B. H., & J. R. P. French, Jr., "Group Support, Legitimate Power, and Social Influence." J. of Personality, XXVI (Sept.'58), 400-09. Legitimacy through election results in greater power to influence others than assumption of position without benefit of election.

Redlich, F., "Toward Comparative Historiography: Background and Problems." Kyklos, XI (#3, 1958), 362-89. Excellent summary of use of comparative method in historical studies; its development in other areas, its problems, purposes, prerequisites, concluding "Comparative historiography is not yet a reality: it is but...a postulate."

Roucek, J. S., "Age as a Prestige Factor." Bridgeport, Conn.: author, 1958 (pamphlet).

Rozental, A. A., "Internal Financing of Economic Development: The Role

of the Hybrid Investment Trust." Amer. J. of Econ. & Soc., XVII (July '58), 353-66. Underdeveloped countries suffer from imperfect organization of capital markets. Reforms of financial institutions and new instruments suggested.

Singer, J. D., "Threat-Perception and the Armament-Tension Dilemma." Conflict Resolution, II (Mar.'58), 90-105. Close analysis of causes and results of "if you want peace, prepare for war" dilemma.

"Some Recent Major Advances in International Public Opinion Polling (Joint AAPOR-WAPOR Session)." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Summer '58), 181-86. Commentaries by Elmo Wilson, George Gallup, Lloyd Free, on recent international survey research.

Stauffer, R. B., & W. E. Vinacke, "Hobbes Revisited: An Analysis of the Comparability of the Theories of Human Nature and of the State Found in the Leviathan." J. of Social Psych., XLVIII (Aug.'58), 61-73. Hobbes tried but failed to adhere to his psychological principles in developing his political system.

Stedman, M. S., "Pressure Groups and the American Tradition." Annals, CCCXIX (Sept.'58), 123-29. Brief evaluation of means by which interest groups effect short-range changes in American value systems.

Suchman, E. A., "Hypotheses and Prospects for Opinion Research in Desegregation." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Summer '58), 190-91. Desegregation controversy offers excellent opportunity to increase knowledge of role of public opinion in influencing social change.

Tannenbaum, A. S., & R. L. Kahn. Participation in Union Locals. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1958. Research report on 4 local unions, centering on element of participation with analysis of organizational control structure.

Taylor, P. A. M., & L. J. Arrington, "Religion and Planning in the Far West: The First Generation of Mormons in Utah." Econ. Hist. R., XI (Aug.'58), 71-86. Analysis of "meticulous planning" and religious cohesion that permitted Mormons to establish economic independence in a completely undeveloped, barren land between 1847 and 1870.

"Thinking Ahead." Harvard Business R., XXXVI (Sept.-Oct.'58), 23ff. Based on A. Toynbee's address at 50th Anniv. Conf. of Harvard Bus. School Ass'n. One of problems of Businessmen during next 50 yrs.: Is it possible to foster freedom in some fields when one is compelled to restrict it in others?

Toch, H. H., "The Perception of Future Events: Case Studies in Social Prediction." Pub. Opin. Q., XXII (Spring '58), 56-66. Comparison of 1942 predictions of state of world in a decade with 1952 conditions.

Torrence, W., & P. Meadows, "American Culture Themes: An Analysis of Foreign Observer Literature." Soc. & Social Research, XLIII (Sept.-Oct.'58), 3-7. Presents thematic analysis of observations of American culture by certain foreign observers; "culture themes" identified in foreign traveler literature with aid of some content analysis tools.

Trager, F. N., "A Selected and Annotated Bibliography on Economic Development, 1953-1957." Econ. Devel. & Cultural Change, VI (July '58), 257-329. Some 400 items appear under 7 major classifications, incl. "Country and Area Studies," "Population, Labor & Urbanization," "Investment," etc. Of particular interest are 12 articles on the political characteristics and organization of underdeveloped countries.

Vidich, A. J., & J. Bensman. Small Town in Mass Society. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1958. Sociological analysis of administration function and individual influence in a small upstate N. Y. town.

Wasserman, P., with F. S. Silander. Decision-Making: An Annotated Bibliography. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Grad. School of Bus. Admin., 1958. Annotations on 400 books, articles, documents, under 8 subheadings: Values and ethical considerations in decision-making, community decision-making, mathematics and statistics in decision-making, etc.

Westley, B. H., "Journalism Research and Scientific Method: II." Journalism Q., XXXV (Summer '58), 307-16. Outlines contributions of deduct-

ive and inductive methods; states case for broad scientific strategy, both empirical and theoretical in approach.

White, R. K., "The Cold War and the Modal Philosophy." <u>Conflict Resolution</u>, II (Mar.'58), 43-50. The cold war is no longer a conflict between "socialism" and "capitalism"; there is a pull toward the center in both the West and East. Opinion surveys document that the new modal philosophy tends to side with economic underdog and value political freedom, and only secondarily values private enterprise. The choice of the "happy medium" is psychologically almost as simple and satisfying as the black-and-white dichotomy.

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15. ET AL.:

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRÉ GIDE[1]
(October, 1893)
"Getting Down to Work"

Means of enticement and instigation to work.

1. Intellectual means: (a) The idea of imminent death. (b) Emulation; precise consciousness of one's period and of the production of others. (c) Artificial sense of one's age; emulation through comparison with the biographies of great men. (d) Contemplation of the poor; only intense work can excuse my wealth in my own eyes. Wealth considered solely as a permission to work freely. (e) Comparison of today's work with yesterday's. Then take as a standard the day on which you worked the most and convince yourself by this false reasoning: nothing prevents me from working as much today. (f) Reading of second-rate or definitely bad works; recognize the enemy and exaggerate the danger. Let your hatred of them urge you to work. (Powerful means, but more dangerous than emulation.)

2. Physical means (all doubtful): (a) Eat little. (b) Keep your extremities very warm. (c) Do not sleep too much (seven hours are enough). (d) Never try to urge yourself on at the moment of writing by either reading or music; or else choose an ancient author and read, with the proper attitude of piety, only a few lines. The ones I choose in such a case are always the same: Virgil, Molière, and Bach (read without the aid of the piano); Voltaire's <u>Candide</u>; or, for quite different reasons, the first volumes of Flaubert's <u>Corre</u>spondance or Balzac's <u>Lettres à sa sœur</u>.

In my room a low bed, a little space, a wooden upright with a broad horizontal board elbow-high, a small square table, a hard straight chair. I create lying down, compose walking up and down, write standing up, copy out sitting down. These four positions have become almost indispensable to me.

I should not cite myself as an example if I did not find it very difficult getting to work. I readily imagine that anyone else works more easily than I and tell myself that, consequently, anyone else could have done just as well what I have done; this allows me the better to scorn. I have never been fundamentally convinced of my superiority over anyone else; this is how I succeed in reconciling a great deal of modesty with a great deal of pride.

(e) Be well. Have been ill.

In the workroom no works of art or very few and very serious ones: (no Botticelli) Masaccio, Michelangelo, Raphael's <u>School of Athens</u>; but preferably a few portraits or death-masks: Dante, Pascal, Leopardi, the photograph of Balzac, of ...

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1. <u>The Journals of André Gide</u>, Vol. I, translated, selected, and edited by Justin O'Brien (N.Y.: Vintage Books, 1956). Quoted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. pp. 21-23.

No books other than dictionaries. Nothing must distract or charm. Nothing must rescue you from boredom except your work.

Never indulge in politics and almost never read the newspapers, but never lose an opportunity to talk politics with anyone whatsoever. This will not teach you anything about the res publica, but it will inform you admirably as to the character of the people you talk with.

Imagination (in my case) rarely precedes the idea; it is the latter, and never the former, that excites me. But the latter without the former produces nothing but a useless exaltation. The idea of a work is its composition. Because of imagining too rapidly so many writers of today create ephemeral, poorly composed works. With me the idea of a work precedes often by several years its imagination.

As soon as the idea of a work takes on consistency--that is, as soon as the work organizes itself-- the elaboration consists in little more than suppressing everything that is useless to its organism.

I am aware that everything that constitutes the originality of the writer is added unto this; but woe to him who thinks of his personality while writing. It always comes through sufficiently if it is sincere, and Christ's saying is just as true in art: "Whosoever will save his life (his personality) shall lose it."

This preliminary work, then, I perform while walking. Then it is that the outside world has the greatest hold over me and that distraction is most dangerous. For since work must always be natural, you must develop your idea without tension or violence. And sometimes it does not come at once. You have to wait. This requires infinite patience. It's no good to seize hold of the idea against its will; it then seems so surly that you wonder what attracted you in it. The preferred idea comes only when there is no other idea in its place. Hence you can evoke it only by thinking of nothing else. At times I have spent more than an hour waiting for it. If you have the misfortune, feeling nothing coming, to think: "I am wasting my time," it's all over and you have wasted your time.

16. EDITORIAL: Criticism of Foundations

Much is said but little is written about the relation of foundations to social research. A favorite topic of the convention lobbies seems never to find its way into print. Some say a taboo, with sanctions, is at work. We prefer to believe in ordinary oversight. 'n either event, more needs to be recorded about foundation research programs, both on the credit and on the debit side.

The 7300 foundations of America include less than fifty that are in a legal or realistic sense "free" to give more than a pittance to social research. These few foundations gave to such research, in 1953, about $11,000,000, an insignificant amount when compared with the expenditures of governments and universities on social research. However, the free foundations, with their money, are critical influences in universities of the first rank and among scholars who are actually or potentially the intellectual leaders of their professions. Following upon this primary impact come secondary repercussions throughout American society.

The human element of this oligarchy of research amounts to about one hundred executives. The number may reach several hundreds if those active board members who have power over policies and those appointive outside committees who have sporadic grant-making powers are included. In either case, an aggregate that has much to do with shaping American social science is small.

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The philanthropoids, to use Dwight McDonald's ugly term, are limited in many ways. Their bureaucratic setting limits most of them. Internal conflict is not uncommon, and its possibility often wields a silent veto over the individual executive's imagination. Moreover, the Tax Exempt Organizations Branch of the U. S. Internal Revenue Service may supervise them; but it must administer an inconceivably confused law that frames its activities in odd and not always useful forms. State agencies enter even less into foundation affairs. Recently two congressional investigations of foundations occurred, the so-called Cox and Reece Committees of the House of Representatives; both left a great deal to be desired from every critical viewpoint, although their proceedings, and studies based upon them, added greatly to our meagre information about tax-exempt organizations. A National Information Bureau provides restricted intelligence about the structure and financing of particular foundations. Articles on foundations occasionally appear in the general press but are apt to be uncritical, filled with awe, and devoid of any material save a "human interest" story. The discerning audience for critical writing about foundations, and especially about the free foundations, as with many another subject in our infinitely subdivided society, is almost entirely limited to customers and regulators.

The annual reports of the free foundations, though uncritical, at least explain their major policies and permit some inductive analysis of their programs and effects. Foundation executives themselves have generally been raised in the liberal tradition of J. S. Mill and of academic freedom. Their conduct therefore tends normally toward consultation, public reporting, and self-appraisal, and away from autocracy and conspiracy. Furthermore, the social network in which they are enmeshed includes a large number of the very people who need most to communicate with them.

There would almost appear to be no problem. All of these controls, external and internal, guarantee a fairly high level of representation and responsibility in this small but vital group.

Moreover, the solution of certain fundamental problems cannot be expected of foundation leaders. They cannot be asked to decide whether foundation resources might better be paid over directly to private universities. Nor can they be reproached for deficiencies of imagination or genius, inasmuch as these qualities are almost entirely lacking, or at least undiscoverable, in the greater environment that embraces the foundations; to state it another way, a genius would be foolish to expect more than a random chance of recognition of his genius by foundation executives.

Still, some element of criticism seems to be lacking in the atmosphere in which the free foundations work. The foundations do not know how to receive criticism and those who pay attention to foundations do not know how to give it. Academic journals ignore foundation relations. The middle-brow and high-brow magazines do no better. There is altogether too much cringing and fawning by the actual and potential beneficiaries of foundation largesse; we see it at PROD via our correspondence and in our frustrated attempts to persuade several scholars of strong views to put their thoughts into print.

We suggest, therefore, that those university administrators and scholars who are griped by foundation practices should go on record with chapter and verse. If they seek but cannot find evidence, let them suggest hypotheses; that is fair scholarship. The same may be said to academic associations and professional journals.

Moreover, the foundations can invite or submit to criticism to the same extent that universities and scholars often do. They might ask themselves, for example: "Why do scholars like us intellectually but

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dislike us viscerally? Why are we set up in the middle of New York City? Are we sending out honest, even if disagreeable, letters of rejection? Have we backed anyone but favorites in the scholarly race? If so, how did he turn out? Do we have a policy, and, if not, must we pretend to have one? How many petty projects are we forcing upon men who should be doing more important studies? Could one man do the entire work of this foundation, with much the same results?

No doubt many foundation leaders ask this kind of question of themselves. However, the small, attentive, and anxious foundation public needs to be part of the discussion. The work of free foundations is too important to be controlled; but it is also too important to pass without informed public comment.

PROFIT AND LOSS STATEMENT
September, 1957, through August, 1958

EXPENDITURES:		INCOME:	
Printing	$2,687.67	Subscriptions	$ 878.84
Authors' postage	30.20	Sales and miscellaneous	262.83
Clerical help	13.00		
Subscription postage	40.36	Advertisements	180.00
Supplies, including correspondence postage	252.72		$1,321.67
Promotion, including postage	195.08	Expenditures	(3,219.03)*
	$3,219.03	(Loss)	(1,897.36)

BALANCE SHEET

ASSETS:		LIABILITIES:	
Bank balance	$ 29.99	Alfred de Grazia, cash outlay	$1,506.83
Petty cash balance	5.78	Deferred and unpaid wages, Editor	1,680.00
Paper inventory, at printer	222.92	Deferred and unpaid wages, Ass't. Editor	760.00
Magazine inventory	460.60	Rent, utilities	360.00
	$ 719.29	Unfilled subscriptions	426.30
		Contribution to surplus	(1,897.36)
		Equity	(2,116.48)
			$ 719.29

* Parentheses indicate red figures.

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